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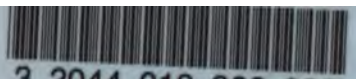
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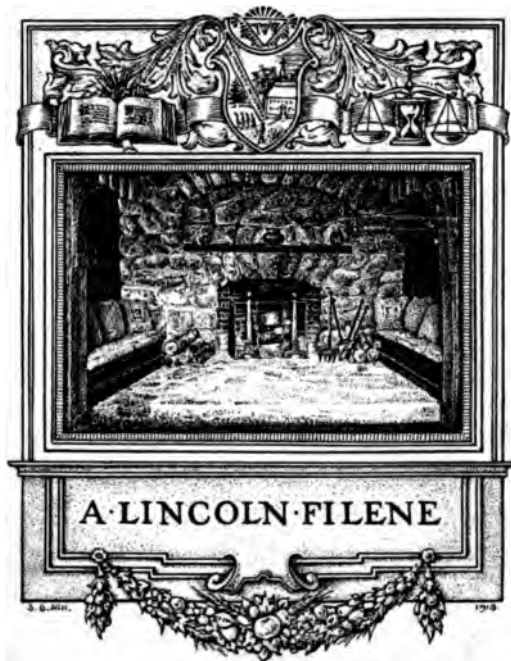
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**Complete Works of  
Abraham Lincoln**

BIOGRAPHICAL EDITION

*Being the Second Printing from the Plates  
of the Celebrated*

GETTYSBURG EDITION

*Francis & Sandy Co.*







A. Lincoln

*From a Photograph made to Commemorate the Ap-  
pointment of Grant as Lieutenant-General  
and Commander-in-Chief.*



# Complete Works *of* Abraham Lincoln

*Edited by*  
JOHN G. NICOLAY *and* JOHN HAY

With a General Introduction *by*  
RICHARD WATSON GILDER, and Special Articles  
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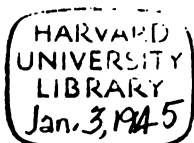
*New and Enlarged Edition*

VOLUME XI

*New York*  
FRANCIS D. TANDY COMPANY

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B



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## Lincoln and Emancipation<sup>1</sup>

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Concerning the causes which led to that act,

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## vi      Lincoln and Emancipation

the motives which inspired it, the necessities which compelled it, and the consequences which followed and are yet to follow it, there have been, there are, and still will be great and honest differences of opinion. Perhaps we are yet too near the great events of which this act formed so conspicuous a part, to understand its deep significance and to foresee its far-off consequences. The lesson of history is rarely learned by the actors themselves, especially when they read it by the fierce and dusky light of war, or amid the deeper shadows of those sorrows which war brings to both. But the unanimous voice of this House in favor of accepting the gift, and the impressive scene we here witness, bear eloquent testimony to the transcendent importance of the event portrayed on yonder canvas.

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## Lincoln and Emancipation      vii

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But the man who presided over that council, who inspired and guided its deliberations, was a character so unique that he stood alone, without a model in history or a parallel among men. Born on this day sixty-nine years ago to an inheritance of extremest poverty; surrounded by the rude forces of the wilderness; wholly unaided by parents; only one year in any school; never, for a day, master of his own time until he reached his majority; making his way to the profession of the law by the hardest and roughest road;—yet by force of unconquerable will and persistent, patient work, he attained a foremost place in his profession,

And, moving up from high to higher,  
Became on fortune's crowning slope  
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The centre of a world's desire.

At first it was the prevailing belief that he would be only the nominal head of his administration,—that its policy would be directed by the eminent statesmen he had called to his council.



## viii     Lincoln and Emancipation

How erroneous this opinion was may be seen from a single incident.

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## Lincoln and Emancipation ix

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The present is not a fitting occasion to examine, with any completeness, the causes that led to the Proclamation of Emancipation; but the peculiar relation of that act to the character of Abraham Lincoln cannot be understood, without considering one remarkable fact in his history. His earlier years were passed in a region remote from the centres of political thought, and without access to the great world of books. But the few books that came within his reach he devoured with the divine hunger of genius. One paper, above all others, led him captive, and filled his spirit with the majesty of its truth and the sublimity of its eloquence. It was the Declaration of American Independence. The author and the signers of that instrument became, in his early youth, the heroes of his political worship. I doubt if history affords any example of a life so early, so deeply, and so permanently influenced by a single political truth, as was Abraham Lincoln's by the central

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That truth runs, like a thread of gold, through the whole web of his political life. It was the spear-point of his logic in his debates with Douglas. It was the inspiring theme of his remarkable speech at the Cooper Institute, New York, in 1860, which gave him the nomination to the Presidency. It filled him with reverent awe when on his way to the capital to enter the shadows of the terrible conflict then impending, he uttered, in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, these remarkable words, which were prophecy then, but are history now:

I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that in-

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Deep and strong was his devotion to liberty; yet deeper and stronger still was his devotion to the Union; for he believed that without the Union permanent liberty for either race on this continent would be impossible. And because of this belief, he was reluctant, perhaps more reluctant than most of his associates, to strike slavery with the sword. For many months the passionate appeals of millions of his associates seemed not to move him. He listened to all the



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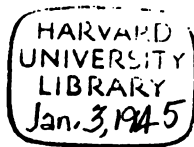
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## xii     Lincoln and Emancipation

phases of the discussion, and stated, in language clearer and stronger than any opponent had used, the dangers, the difficulties, and the possible futility of the act. In reference to its practical wisdom, Congress, the Cabinet, and the country were divided. Several of his generals had proclaimed the freedom of slaves within the limits of their commands. The President revoked their proclamations. His first Secretary of War had inserted a paragraph in his annual report advocating a similar policy. The President suppressed it. On the 19th of August, 1862, Horace Greeley published a letter addressed to the President, entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," in which he said:

On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the rebellion and at the same time uphold its inciting cause are preposterous and futile.

To this the President responded in that ever-memorable reply of August 22, in which he said:

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

## Lincoln and Emancipation    xiii

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

*My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or to destroy slavery.*

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it,—and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe that what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

Thus, against all importunities on the one hand and remonstrances on the other, he took the mighty question to his own heart, and, during the long months of that terrible battle-summer, wrestled with it alone. But at length he realized the saving truth, that great, unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations. On the 22d of September, he summoned his Cabinet to announce his conclusion. It was my good fortune, on that same day, and a few hours after the meeting, to hear, from the lips of one who participated, the story of the scene. 'As

## xiv     Lincoln and Emancipation

the chiefs of the Executive Departments came in, one by one, they found the President reading a favorite chapter from a popular humorist. He was lightening the weight of the great burden which rested upon his spirit. He finished the chapter, reading it aloud. And here I quote, from the published journal of the late Chief Justice, an entry, written immediately after the meeting, and bearing unmistakable evidence that it is almost a literal transcript of Lincoln's words:

The President then took a graver tone, and said: Gentlemen, I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery; and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared upon the subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought all along that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion.

When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined as soon as it should be driven out of Mary-

## Lincoln and Emancipation xv

land to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made a promise to myself and (hesitating a little) to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise.

“ I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter which any one of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive your suggestions.

“ One other observation I will make: I knew very well that many others might, in this matter as in others, do better than I can; and if I was satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by me, and knew of any constitutional way in which he could be put in my place, he should have it. I would gladly yield it to him. But though I believe I have not so much of the confidence of the people as I had some time since, I do not know that, all things considered, any other person has more; and, however this may be, there is no way in which I can have any other man put where I

## xvi      Lincoln and Emancipation

am. I am here. I must do the best I can and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take."

The President then proceeded to read his Emancipation Proclamation, making remarks on the several parts as he went on, and showing that he had fully considered the subject in all the lights under which it had been presented to him.

The Proclamation was amended in a few matters of detail. It was signed and published that day. The world knows the rest, and will not forget it till "the last syllable of recorded time."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. A. Garfield". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page.

# Illustrations

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Photogravure from the photograph taken to commemorate the  
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From a photograph.



**Complete Works of  
Abraham Lincoln**

**Volume XI**

**[1865]**





# Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

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DRAFT OF MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, February 5,  
1865<sup>1</sup>

*(Not signed or sent.)*

**F**ELLOW-CITIZENS of the Senate and House of Representatives: I respectfully recommend that a joint resolution, substantially as follows, be adopted so soon as practicable by your honorable bodies: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby empowered, in his dis-

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln's final attempt to save the South from financial ruin. At the meeting of his Cabinet, Nicolay tells us "with the words 'You are all opposed to me' sadly uttered, the President folded up the papers and ceased the discussion. The project was then nearest his heart and he doubtless meant to present it to the Cabinet again at a later day, hoping for its more favorable consideration.

creation, to pay \$400,000,000 to the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, in the manner and on the conditions following, to wit: The payment to be made in six per cent. government bonds, and to be distributed among said States *pro rata* on their respective slave populations as shown by the census of 1860, and no part of said sum to be paid unless all resistance to the national authority shall be abandoned and cease, on or before the first day of April next; and upon such abandonment and ceasing of resistance one half of said sum to be paid in manner aforesaid, and the remaining half to be paid only upon the amendment of the National Constitution recently proposed by Congress becoming valid law, on or before the first day of July next, by the action thereon of the requisite number of States."

The adoption of such resolution is sought with a view to embody it, with other propositions, in a proclamation looking to peace and reunion.

Whereas, a joint resolution has been adopted by Congress, in the words following, to wit:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that on the conditions therein

stated, the power conferred on the executive in and by said joint resolution will be fully exercised; that war will cease and armies be reduced to a basis of peace; that all political offenses will be pardoned; that all property, except slaves, liable to confiscation or forfeiture, will be released therefrom, except in cases of intervening interests of third parties; and that liberality will be recommended to Congress upon all points not lying within executive control.

[*Indorsement.*]

February 5, 1865. To-day these papers, which explain themselves, were drawn up and submitted to the cabinet and unanimously disapproved by them.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

February 5, 1865.

*Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Ky.:* Your despatch received. Will send official copy of constitutional amendment by mail to-morrow, this being Sunday. Precedents justify the legislature to act on *ex-officio* notice of Congress having passed the proposed amendment; nevertheless, I will send you the authenticated copy.

A. LINCOLN.

## ORDER TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN THE DRAFT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 6, 1865.

Whereas complaints are made in some localities respecting the assignments of quotas and credits allowed for the pending call of troops to fill up the armies: Now, in order to determine all controversies in respect thereto, and to avoid any delay in filling up the armies, it is ordered, That the Attorney-General, Brigadier-General Richard Delafield, and Colonel C. W. Foster, be, and they are hereby constituted, a board to examine into the proper quotas and credits of the respective States and districts under the call of December 19, 1864, with directions, if any errors be found therein, to make such corrections as the law and facts may require, and report their determination to the Provost-Marshal-General. The determination of said board to be final and conclusive, and the draft to be made in conformity therewith.

2. The Provost-Marshal-General is ordered to make the draft in the respective districts as speedily as the same can be done after the 15th of this month.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GLENN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 7, 1865.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn, Henderson, Ky.:*

Complaint is made to me that you are forcing negroes into the military service, and even torturing them—riding them on rails and the like—to extort their consent. I hope this may be a mistake. The like must not be done by you, or any one under you. You must not force negroes any more than white men. Answer me on this.

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 7, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*

General Singleton, who bears you this, claims that he already has arrangements made, if you consent, to bring a large amount of Southern produce through your lines. For its bearing on our finances I would be glad for this to be done if it can be without injuriously disturbing your military operations, or supplying the enemy. I wish you to be judge and master on these points. Please see and hear him fully, and decide whether anything, and if anything what, can be done in the premises. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 8, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*

I am called on by the House of Representatives

to give an account of my interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, and it is very desirable to me to put in your despatch of February 1, to the Secretary of War, in which, among other things, you say: "I fear now their going back without any expression from any one in authority will have a bad influence." I think the despatch does you credit, while I do not see that it can embarrass you. May I use it?

A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO M. HOYT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 8, 1865.

*Mark Hoyt, Esq., New York:* The President has received your dispatch asking an interview. He cannot appoint any specific day or hour, but your delegation may come at their own convenience and he will see them as soon as he possibly can after their arrival.

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR SMITH

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

February 8, 1865.

*Governor Smith, of Vermont:* Complaint is made to me by Vermont that the assignment of her quota for the draft on the pending call is intrinsically unjust, and also in bad faith of the government's promise to fairly allow credits for

men previously furnished. To illustrate, a supposed case is stated as follows:

Vermont and New Hampshire must, between them, furnish six thousand (6,000) men on the pending call, and being equals each must furnish as many as the other in the long run. But the government finds that on former calls Vermont furnished a surplus of five hundred (500), and New Hampshire a surplus of fifteen hundred (1,500). These two surpluses making two thousand (2,000), and added to the six thousand (6,000), making eight thousand (8,000) to be furnished by the two States, or four thousand (4,000) each, less by fair credits. Then subtract Vermont's surplus of five hundred (500) from her four thousand (4,000), leaves three thousand five hundred (3,500) as her quota on the pending call; and likewise subtract New Hampshire's surplus of fifteen hundred (1,500) from her four thousand (4,000), leaves two thousand five hundred (2,500) as her quota on the pending call. These three thousand five hundred (3,500) and two thousand five hundred (2,500) make precisely the six thousand (6,000) which the supposed case requires from the two States, and it is just equal for Vermont to furnish one thousand (1,000) more now than New Hampshire, because New Hampshire has heretofore furnished one thousand (1,000) more



than Vermont, which equalizes the burdens of the two in the long run; and this result, so far from being bad faith to Vermont, is indispensable to keeping good faith with New Hampshire. By no other result can the six thousand (6,000) men be obtained from the two States, and at the same time deal justly and keep faith with both, and we do but confuse ourselves in questioning the process by which the right result is reached. The supposed case is perfect as an illustration.

The pending call is not for three hundred thousand (300,000) men subject to fair credits, but is for three hundred thousand (300,000) remaining after all fair credits have been deducted, and it is impossible to concede what Vermont asks without coming out short of the three hundred thousand (300,000) men, or making other localities pay for the partiality shown her.

This upon the case stated. If there be different reasons for making an allowance to Vermont, let them be presented and considered

Yours truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGES TO CONGRESS, February 8, 1865

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives:* The joint resolution, entitled "Joint resolution declaring certain States not entitled to representation in the electoral college,"

has been signed by the executive, in deference to the view of Congress implied in its passage and presentation to him. In his own view, however, the two Houses of Congress, convened under the twelfth article of the Constitution, have complete power to exclude from counting all electoral votes deemed by them to be illegal; and it is not competent for the executive to defeat or obstruct that power by a veto, as would be the case if his action were at all essential in the matter. He disclaims all right of the executive to interfere in any way in the matter of canvassing or counting electoral votes; and he also disclaims that, by signing said resolution, he has expressed any opinion on the recitals of the preamble, or any judgment of his own upon the subject of the resolution.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*

I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the 4th instant, addressed by J. Hume Burnley, Esq, her Britannic Majesty's chargé d'affaires, to the Secretary of State, relative to a sword which it is proposed to present to Captain Henry S. Stellwagen, commanding the United States frigate *Constellation*, as a mark of gratitude for his services to the British brigantine *Mersey*. The expediency of sanctioning the acceptance of

10                      Abraham Lincoln                      [Feb. 10

the gift is submitted to your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, REPORT-  
ING THE RESULT OF THE ELECTORAL COUNT,  
February 9, 1865.

With deep gratitude to my countrymen for this mark of their confidence; with a distrust of my own ability to perform the duty required under the most favorable circumstances, and now rendered doubly difficult by existing national perils; yet with a firm reliance on the strength of our free government, and the eventual loyalty of the people to the just principles upon which it is founded, and above all with an unshaken faith in the Supreme Ruler of nations, I accept this trust. Be pleased to signify this to the respective Houses of Congress.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
February 10, 1865

*'To the Honorable the House of Representatives:* In response to your resolution of the 8th instant, requesting information in relation to a conference recently held in Hampton Roads, I have the honor to state that on the day of the date I gave Francis P. Blair, Sr., a card written on as follows, to wit:

Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines,  
go south, and return.

A. LINCOLN.

December 28, 1864.

That at the time I was informed that Mr. Blair sought the card as a means of getting to Richmond, Virginia; but he was given no authority to speak or act for the government, nor was I informed of anything he would say or do on his own account, or otherwise. Afterward Mr. Blair told me that he had been to Richmond, and had seen Mr. Jefferson Davis; and he (Mr. Blair) at the same time left with me a manuscript letter, as follows, to wit:

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, January 12, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

*Sir:* I have deemed it proper, and probably desirable to you, to give you, in this form, the substance of remarks made by me, to be repeated by you to President Lincoln, etc., etc.

I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms, and am willing, now as heretofore, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace; am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, or to receive a commission, if the United States Government shall choose to send one. That, notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commissioner, minister, or other agent would be received,

appoint one immediately, and renew the effort to enter into conference, with a view to secure peace to the two countries. Yours, etc., JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Afterward, and with the view that it should be shown to Mr. Davis, I wrote and delivered to Mr. Blair a letter as follows, to wit:

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

*Sir:* You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

Afterward Mr. Blair dictated for and authorized me to make an entry on the back of my retained copy of the letter last above recited, which entry is as follows:

January 28, 1865.

To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original, of which the within is a copy, and left it with him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis's letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it.

A. LINCOLN.

Afterward the Secretary of War placed in my hands the following telegram, indorsed by him as appears:

(*Cipher.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

The following telegram received at Washington,  
January 29, 1865:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE JAMES,

January 29, 1865. 6:30 P. M.

The following despatch just received from Major-General Parke, who refers it to me for my action. I refer it to you in Lieutenant-General Grant's absence.

E. O. C. ORD, Maj.-Gen. Commanding.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

January 29, 1865. 4 P. M.

The following despatch is forwarded to you for your action. Since I have no knowledge of General Grant's having had any understanding of this kind, I refer the matter to you as the ranking officer present in the two armies.

JNO. G. PARKE, Major-General Commanding.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. O. C. ORD,

Headquarters Army of the James.

FROM HEADQUARTERS NINTH ARMY CORPS, 29th.

Alex. H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and J. A. Campbell desire to cross my lines, in accordance with an understanding claimed to exist with Lieutenant-

General Grant, on their way to Washington as peace commissioners. Shall they be admitted? They desire an early answer, to come through immediately. Would like to reach City Point to-night if they can. If they cannot do this, they would like to come through at 10 A. M. to-morrow morning.

O. B. WILCOX,

Major-General Commanding 9th Corps.

MAJOR-GENERAL JNO. G. PARKE,

Headquarters Army of the Potomac.

Respectfully referred to the President for such instructions as he may be pleased to give.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

January 29, 1865. 8:30 P. M.

It appears that about the time of placing the foregoing telegram in my hands, the Secretary of War despatched General Ord as follows, to wit:

*(Private and confidential.)*

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 29, 1865. 10 P. M.

This department has no knowledge of any understanding by General Grant to allow any person to come within his lines as commissioner of any sort. You will therefore allow no one to come into your lines under such character or profession until you receive the President's instructions, to whom your telegram will be submitted for his directions.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD.

Afterward, by my direction, the Secretary of War telegraphed General Ord as follows, to wit:

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 30, 1865. 10:30 A. M.

By direction of the President, you are instructed to inform the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, that a messenger will be despatched to them at or near where they now are without unnecessary delay.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. O. C. ORD,  
Headquarters Army of the James.

Afterward I prepared and put into the hands of Major Thomas T. Eckert the following instructions and message:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 30, 1865.

MAJOR THOMAS T. ECKERT.

*Sir:* You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and, on reaching General Ord, will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War; then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, or any of them. Deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which, if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord



to pass them through, as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If, by their answer, they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them passed through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSRS. ALEX. H. STEPHENS, J. A. CAMPBELL,  
AND R. M. T. HUNTER.

*Gentlemen:* I am instructed by the President of the United States to place this paper in your hands, with the information that if you pass through the United States military lines, it will be understood that you do so for the purpose of an informal conference on the basis of the letter, a copy of which is on the reverse side of this sheet, and that, if you choose to pass on such understanding, and so notify me in writing, I will procure the commanding general to pass you through the lines and to Fortress Monroe, under such military precautions as he may deem prudent, and at which place you will be met in due time by some person or persons, for the purpose of such informal conference. And, further, that you shall have protection, safe-conduct, and safe return in all events.

THOMAS T. ECKERT,

Major and Aide-de-camp.

CITY POINT, VA., February 1, 1865.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

*Sir:* You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue

ready to receive any agent whom, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country. Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

Afterward, but before Major Eckert had departed, the following despatch was received from General Grant:

*(Cipher.)*

*(Private and confidential.)*

The following telegram, received at Washington, January 31, 1865:

CITY POINT, VA.,

January 31, 1865. 10:30 A. M.

HIS EXCELLENCY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States:

The following communication was received here last evening:

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA,

January 30, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States.

*Sir:* We desire to pass your lines under safe-conduct, and to proceed to Washington to hold a conference with President Lincoln upon the subject of the existing war, and with a view of ascertaining upon what terms it may be terminated, in pursuance of the course indicated by him in his letter to Mr. Blair of January 18, 1865, of which we presume you have

a copy, and if not we wish to see you in person, if convenient, and to confer with you upon the subject.

Very respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

J. A. CAMPBELL.

R. M. T. HUNTER.

I have sent directions to receive these gentlemen, and expect to have them at my quarters this evening, awaiting your instructions. U. S. GRANT,

Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

This, it will be perceived, transferred General Ord's agency in the matter to General Grant. I resolved, however, to send Major Eckert forward with his message, and accordingly telegraphed General Grant as follows, to wit:

*Secretary of War.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 31, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Va.:

A messenger is coming to you on the business contained in your despatch. Detain the gentlemen in comfortable quarters until he arrives, and then act upon the message he brings as far as applicable, it having been made up to pass through General Ord's hands, and when the gentlemen were supposed to be beyond our lines.

A. LINCOLN.

When Major Eckert departed, he bore with him a letter of the Secretary of War to General Grant, as follows, to wit:

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 30, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Commanding, etc.

*General:* The President desires that you will please procure for the bearer, Major Thomas T. Eckert, an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, and if, on his return to you, he request it, pass them through our lines to Fortress Monroe, by such route and under such military precautions as you may deem prudent, giving them protection and comfortable quarters while there, and that you let none of this have any effect upon your movements or plans.

By order of the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Supposing the proper point to be then reached, I despatched the Secretary of State with the following instructions, Major Eckert, however, going ahead of him:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 31, 1865.

*Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State:* You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., of January 18, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable, to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.
2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position as-

sumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say, and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything. Yours, etc., ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the day of its date, the following telegram was sent to General Grant:

*(Sent in Cipher at 9:30 A. M.)*

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 1, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia:*

Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans.

A. LINCOLN.

Afterward the following despatch was received from General Grant:

*(In cipher.)*

MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, 2:30 P. M., February 1, 1865:

CITY POINT, VA., February 1, 1865. 12:30 P. M.

*His Excellency, A. Lincoln:* Your despatch received. There will be no armistice in consequence of

the presence of Mr. Stephens, and others within our lines. The troops are kept in readiness to move at the shortest notice, if occasion should justify it.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

To notify Major Eckert that the Secretary of State would be at Fortress Monroe, and to put them in communication, the following despatch was sent:

*(Sent in Cipher at 5:30 P. M.)*

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 1, 1865.

*Major T. T. Eckert, City Point, Virginia:* Call at Fortress Monroe, and put yourself under direction of Mr. Seward, who will be there. A. LINCOLN.

On the morning of the 2d instant, the following telegrams were received by me, respectively from the Secretary of State and Major Eckert:

FORT MONROE, VA., February 1, 1865. 11:30 P. M.

*The President of the United States:* Arrived at ten this evening. Richmond party not here. I remain here.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CITY POINT, VA., February 1, 1865. 10 P. M.

*His Excellency, A. Lincoln:* I have the honor to report the delivery of your communication and my letter at 4:15 this afternoon, to which I received a reply at 6 P. M., but not satisfactory.

At 8 P. M. the following note, addressed to General Grant, was received:

CITY POINT, VA., February 1, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

*Sir:* We desire to go to Washington city to confer informally with the President, personally, in reference to the matters mentioned in his letter to Mr. Blair, of the 18th of January, ultimo, without any personal compromise on any question in the letter.

We have the permission to do so from the authorities in Richmond.

Very respectfully yours,

ALEX. H. STEPHENS.

R. M. T. HUNTER.

J. A. CAMPBELL.

At 9:30 P. M., I notified them that they could not proceed further unless they complied with the terms expressed in my letter. The point of meeting designated in above note would not, in my opinion, be insisted upon. Think Fort Monroe would be acceptable. Having complied with my instructions, I will return to Washington to-morrow unless otherwise ordered. THOS. T. ECKERT, Major, etc.

On reading this despatch of Major Eckert, I was about to recall him and the Secretary of State, when the following telegram of General Grant to the Secretary of War was shown me:

*(In cipher.)*

MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPT.

The following telegram received at Washington, February 2, 1865. 4.35 A. M.

CITY POINT, VA., February 1, 1865. 10:30 P. M.

*Hon. Edwin M. Stanton:* Now that the interview between Major Eckert, under his written instructions, and Mr. Stephens and party has ended, I will state confidentially, but not officially — to become a matter of record — that I am convinced, upon conversation with Messrs. Stephens and Hunter, that their intentions are good and their desire sincere to restore peace and union. I have not felt myself at liberty to express even views of my own, or to account for my reticency. This has placed me in an awkward position, which I could have avoided by not seeing them in the first instance. I fear now their going back without any expression from any one in authority will have a bad influence. At the same time, I recognize the difficulties in the way of receiving these informal commissioners at this time, and do not know what to recommend. I am sorry, however, that Mr. Lincoln cannot have an interview with the two named in this dispatch, if not all three now within our lines. Their letter to me was all that the President's instructions contemplated to secure their safe-conduct, if they had used the same language to Major Eckert.

U. S. GRANT,  
Lieutenant-General.

This despatch of General Grant changed my purpose; and accordingly I telegraphed him, and the Secretary of State, respectively, as follows:



(Sent in cipher at 9 A. M.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 2, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia:*

Say to the gentlemen I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can get there.

A. LINCOLN.

(Sent in cipher at 9 A. M.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 2, 1865.

*Hon. William H. Seward, Fortress Monroe, Virginia:* Induced by a despatch from General Grant, I join you at Fort Monroe as soon as I can come.

A. LINCOLN.

Before starting the following despatch was shown me. I proceeded, nevertheless.

(Cipher.)

OFFICE U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPT.

The following telegram received at Washington, February 2, 1865:

CITY POINT, VA., February 2, 1865. 9 A. M.

*Hon. William H. Seward, Fort Monroe:* The gentlemen here have accepted the proposed terms, and will leave for Fort Monroe at 9:30 A. M.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

Copy to Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington.

On the night of the 2d, I reached Hampton Roads, found the Secretary of State and Major Eckert on a steamer anchored offshore, and learned of them that the Richmond gentlemen were on another steamer also anchored offshore,

in the Roads; and that the Secretary of State had not yet seen or communicated with them. Here I ascertained that Major Eckert had literally complied with his instructions, and I saw, for the first time, the answer of the Richmond gentlemen to him, which, in his despatch to me of the 1st, he characterizes as "not satisfactory." That answer is as follows, to wit:

CITY POINT, VA., February 1, 1865.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-camp.

*Major:* Your note, delivered by yourself this day, has been considered. In reply, we have to say that we were furnished with a copy of the letter of President Lincoln to Francis P. Blair, Esq., of the 18th of January, ultimo, another copy of which is appended to your note. Our instructions are contained in a letter, of which the following is a copy:

RICHMOND, January 28, 1865.

In conformity with the letter of Mr. Lincoln, of which the foregoing is a copy, you are to proceed to Washington city for informal conference with him upon the issues involved in the existing war, and for the purpose of securing peace to the two countries.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The substantial object to be obtained by the informal conference is to ascertain upon what terms the existing war can be terminated honorably.

Our instructions contemplate a personal interview

between President Lincoln and ourselves at Washington city, but with this explanation we are ready to meet any person or persons that President Lincoln may appoint, at such place as he may designate. Our earnest desire is that a just and honorable peace may be agreed upon, and we are prepared to receive or submit propositions which may, possibly, lead to the attainment of that end.

Very respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

R. M. T. HUNTER,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

'A note of these gentlemen, subsequently addressed to General Grant, has already been given in Major Eckert's despatch of the 1st instant.

I also here saw, for the first time, the following note, addressed by the Richmond gentlemen to Major Eckert:

CITY POINT, VA., February 2, 1865.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-camp.

*Major:* In reply to your verbal statement that your instructions did not allow you to alter the conditions upon which a passport could be given to us, we say that we are willing to proceed to Fortress Monroe, and there to have an informal conference with any person or persons that President Lincoln may appoint, on the basis of his letter to Francis P. Blair of the 18th of January, ultimo, or upon any other terms or conditions that he may hereafter pro-

pose, not inconsistent with the essential principles of self-government and popular rights upon which our institutions are founded.

It is our earnest wish to ascertain, after a free interchange of ideas and information, upon what principles and terms, if any, a just and honorable peace can be established without the further effusion of blood, and to contribute our utmost efforts to accomplish such a result.

We think it better to add, that, in accepting your passport, we are not to be understood as committing ourselves to anything, but to carry to this informal conference the views and feelings above expressed.

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

J. A. CAMPBELL.

R. M. T. HUNTER.

NOTE.—The above communication was delivered to me at Fort Monroe at 4:30 P. M., February 2d, by Lieutenant-Colonel Babcock, of General Grant's staff.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-Camp.

On the morning of the 3d, the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself, of several hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was pres-

ent; no papers were exchanged or produced; and it was, in advance, agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely.

On our part the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State, hereinbefore recited, was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith; while, by the other party, it was not said that in any event or on any condition, they ever would consent to reunion; and yet they equally omitted to declare that they never would so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion; but which course, we thought, would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result.

The foregoing, containing as is believed all the information sought, is respectfully submitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1865.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, February 10, 1865

*To the Senate of the United States:* In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, requesting information concerning recent conversations or communications with insurgents, under executive sanction, I transmit a

report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*To the President:* The Secretary of State, to whom was referred a resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, requesting "the President of the United States, if, in his opinion, not incompatible with the public interests, to furnish to the Senate any information in his possession concerning recent conversations or communications with certain rebels, said to have taken place under executive sanction, including communications with the rebel Jefferson Davis, and any correspondence relating thereto," has the honor to report that the Senate may properly be referred to a special message of the President bearing upon the subject of the resolution, and transmitted to the House this day. Appended to this report is a copy of an instruction which has been addressed to Charles Francis Adams, Esq., envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at London, and which is the only correspondence found in this department touching the subject referred to in the resolution.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, February 10, 1865.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

(*Extract.*)

No. 1258.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, February 7, 1865.

. . . . .

On the morning of the 3d, the President, attended by the Secretary, received Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell on board the United States steam transport *River Queen* in Hampton Roads. The conference was altogether informal. There was no attendance of secretaries, clerks, or other witnesses. Nothing was written or read. The conversation, although earnest and free, was calm, and courteous, and kind on both sides. The Richmond party approached the discussion rather indirectly, and at no time did they either make categorical demands, or tender formal stipulations or absolute refusals. Nevertheless, during the conference, which lasted four hours, the several points at issue between the government and the insurgents were distinctly raised, and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. What the insurgent party seemed chiefly to favor was a postponement of the question of separation, upon which the war is waged, and a mutual direction of efforts of the government, as well as those of the insurgents, to some extrinsic policy or scheme for a season during which passions might be expected to subside, and the armies be reduced, and trade and intercourse between the people of both sections resumed. It was suggested by them that through such postponement we might now have immediate peace, with some not very certain prospect of an ultimate satisfactory adjustment of political relations between this government and the States, section, or people now engaged in conflict with it.

This suggestion, though deliberately considered,

was nevertheless regarded by the President as one of armistice or truce, and he announced that we can agree to no cessation or suspension of hostilities, except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces, and the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States in the Union. Collaterally, and in subordination to the proposition which was thus announced, the antislavery policy of the United States was reviewed in all its bearings, and the President announced that he must not be expected to depart from the positions he had heretofore assumed in his proclamation of emancipation and other documents, as these positions were reiterated in his last annual message. It was further declared by the President that the complete restoration of the national authority was an indispensable condition of any assent on our part to whatever form of peace might be proposed. The President assured the other party that, while he must adhere to these positions, he would be prepared, so far as power is lodged with the executive, to exercise liberality. His power, however, is limited by the Constitution; and when peace should be made, Congress must necessarily act in regard to appropriations of money and to the admission of representatives from the insurrectionary States. The Richmond party were then informed that Congress had, on the 31st ultimo, adopted by a constitutional majority a joint resolution submitting to the several States the proposition to abolish slavery throughout the Union, and that there is every reason to expect that it will be soon accepted by three-fourths



of the States, so as to become a part of the national organic law.

The conference came to an end by mutual acquiescence, without producing an agreement of views upon the several matters discussed, or any of them. Nevertheless, it is perhaps of some importance that we have been able to submit our opinions and views directly to prominent insurgents, and to hear them in answer in a courteous and not unfriendly manner.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

#### LETTER TO A. H. STEPHENS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 10, 1865.

*Hon. A. H. Stephens:* According to our agreement, your nephew, Lieutenant Stephens, goes to you bearing this note. Please, in return, to select and send to me that officer of the same rank imprisoned at Richmond, whose physical condition most urgently requires his release.

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

#### \* LETTERS ENDORSING — HAMMOND

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11, 1865.

Will the Head of any Department to whom this card may be presented, give the bearer, Mr. Hammond, an interview? A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11, 1865.

I would like to give Mr. Hammond some tolerably good appointment; but understanding

that giving him the place of Internal Revenue Collector in his District, would be embarrassing or disagreeable to Senators Anthony and Sprague, I will thank them to make an effort to find something respectable for him, which would not be disagreeable to them.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 12, 1865.

*Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:*  
I understand that provost-marshals in different parts of Missouri are assuming to decide that the conditions of bonds are forfeited, and therefore are seizing and selling property to pay damages. This, if true, is both outrageous and ridiculous. Do not allow it. The courts, and not provost-marshals, are to decide such questions unless when military necessity makes an exception. Also excuse John Eaton, of Clay County, and Wesley Martin, of Platt, from being sent South, and let them go East if anywhere.

A. LINCOLN.

TO COMMANDING OFFICERS IN WEST TENNESSEE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

February 13, 1865.

*Gentlemen:* While I cannot order as within

requested, allow me to say that it is my wish for you to relieve the people from all burdens, harassments, and oppressions, so far as is possible consistently with your military necessities; that the object of the war being to restore and maintain the blessings of peace and good government, I desire you to help, and not hinder, every advance in that direction.

Of your military necessities you must judge and execute, but please do so in the spirit and with the purpose above indicated.

Very truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, February 13, 1865.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the 2d instant, addressed to the Secretary of State by the Commander J. C. de Fignaire é Morai, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his most faithful Majesty, the King of Portugal, calling attention to a proposed international exhibition at the city of Oporto, to be opened in August next, and inviting contributions thereto of the products of American manufactures and industry. The expediency of any legislation upon the subject is submitted for your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

February 14, 1865.

*Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:*

Yours of yesterday about provost-marshal system received. As part of the same subject, let me say I am now pressed in regard to a pending assessment in St. Louis County. Please examine and satisfy yourself whether this assessment should proceed or be abandoned; and if you decide that it is to proceed, please examine as to the propriety of its application to a gentleman by the name of Charles McLaran.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

February 15, 1865.

*Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:*

Please ascertain whether General Fisk's administration is as good as it might be, and answer me.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION CONVENING THE SENATE IN  
EXTRA SESSION, February 17, 1865  
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas objects of interest to the United States require that the Senate should be convened at twelve o'clock on the fourth of March next to receive and act upon such communications as may be made to it on the part of the executive;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, have considered it to be my duty to issue this, my proclamation, declaring that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene for the transaction of business at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the fourth day of March next, at twelve o'clock at noon on that day, of which all who shall at that time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Washington, the seventeenth day of February, in the year [L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
Secretary of State.

**\*TELEGRAM TO OFFICER IN COMMAND AT HARPER'S FERRY**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 17, 1865.

Chaplain Fitzgibbon yesterday sent me a dispatch invoking clemency for Jackson, Stewart and Randall, who are to be shot to-day. The dispatch is so vague that there is no means here of ascertaining whether or not the execution of sentence of one or more of them may not already have been ordered. If not suspend execution of sentence in their cases until further orders and forward records of trials for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

**TELEGRAM TO GENERAL N. J. T. DANA**

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1865.

*Major-General Dana:* Allow the bearers of this paper to prove to you if they can that the foregoing statement of facts made on their representation by the Secretary of the Treasury is substantially true; and on their doing so to your satisfaction in a reasonable degree, allow them to bring out the products in the manner and on the terms indicated by the Secretary of the Treasury in the foregoing letter. The change of lines, if true as stated, justifies the dealing with the case, and similar cases, as special ones.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO JAMES GORDON BENNETT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 20, 1865.

*Dear Sir:* I propose, at some convenient and not distant day, to nominate you to the United States Senate as Minister to France.

Your obedient servant,           A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR FLETCHER ON AFFAIRS  
IN MISSOURI

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 20, 1865.

*Govenor Fletcher:* It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within easy reach of the people themselves? It cannot but be that every man not naturally a robber or cut-throat would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject; and if so, they only need to reach an understanding, one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem; and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Cannot this mischievous distrust be removed? Let neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held, of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have

thought, said, or done about the war, or about anything else. Let all such meet, and, waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friendships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help.

Please consider whether it may not be well to suggest this to the now afflicted people of Missouri. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

**\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 24, 1865.

*Major-General Pope, Saint Louis, Mo.:*  
Please inquire and report to me whether there is any propriety of longer keeping in Gratiott Street Prison a man said to be there by the name of Riley Whiting. A. LINCOLN.

**TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT**

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 24, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*  
I am in a little perplexity. I was induced to authorize a gentlemen to bring Roger A. Pryor here with a view of effecting an exchange of him; but since then I have seen a despatch of



yours showing that you specially object to his exchange. Meantime he has reached here and reported to me. It is an ungracious thing for me to send him back to prison, and yet inadmissible for him to remain here long. Cannot you help me out with it? I can conceive that there may be difference to you in days, and I can keep him a few days to accommodate on that point. I have not heard of my son's reaching you.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. PALMER

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 24, 1865.

*Major-General Palmer, Louisville, Ky.:*

Please telegraph me an exact copy of the order of John C. Breckinridge borne by Colonel Robert J. Breckinridge.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*

General Sheridan's despatch to you, of to-day, in which he says he "will be off on Monday," and that he "will leave behind about 2000 men," causes the Secretary of War and myself considerable anxiety. Have you well considered whether you do not again leave open the Shenandoah Valley entrance to Maryland and Pennsylvania, or, at least, to the Batimore and Ohio Rairoad?

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO HENRY WARD BEECHER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 27, 1865.

*My dear Sir:* Yours of the 4th and the 21st reached me together only two days ago.

I now thank you for both. Since you wrote the former the whole matter of the negotiation, if it can be so called, has been published, and you doubtless have seen it. When you were with me on the evening of the 1st, I had no thought of going in person to meet the Richmond gentlemen. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 27, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:* Subsequent reflection, conference with General Halleck, your despatch, and one from General Sheridan, have relieved my anxiety; and so I beg that you will dismiss any concern you may have on my account, in the matter of my last despatch.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR FLETCHER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 27, 1865.

*Governor Fletcher, Jefferson City, Mo.:* Have you received my letter of the 20th? I think some such thing as therein suggested is

needed. If you put it before the people, I will direct the military to coöperate. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

**\*ORDER TO ——— DICKSON**

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1865.

Will Mr. Dickson, Chief Engineer of the Hibernia, please pump the water out of a certain well which Tad will show?

A. LINCOLN.

**LETTER TO GENERAL SCOTT AND OTHERS<sup>1</sup>**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 1, 1865.

*Gentlemen:* I have received your address on the part of the Bureau for the Employment of Disabled and Discharged Soldiers which has recently been established in connection with the Protective War Claim Association of the Sanitary Commission.

It gives me pleasure to assure you of my hearty concurrence with the purposes you announce, and I shall at all times be ready to recognize the paramount claims of the soldiers of the nation in the disposition of public trusts. I shall be glad also to make these suggestions to the several heads of departments.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

<sup>1</sup> To Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, President; Howard Potter, Wm. E. Dodge, Jr., and Theo. Roosevelt.— N. and H.

## TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*

You have not sent contents of Richmond papers for Tuesday or Wednesday. Did you not receive them? If not, does it indicate anything?

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1865. 12 P. M.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* The President directs me to say that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for capitulation of General's Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political questions. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meanwhile you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, March 4, 1865<sup>1</sup>

**F**ELLOW - COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without

<sup>1</sup> Both the Gettysburg address and the Second Inaugural mark the height of Lincoln's eloquence. The *London Times* called the latter the most sublime state paper of the century. Exactly two months later it was read over its author's grave.





war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other



men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—ferently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us

to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

NOTE TO CHARLES SUMNER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 5, 1865.

*My dear Sir:* I should be pleased for you to accompany us to-morrow evening at ten o'clock on a visit of half an hour to the inaugural ball. I inclose a ticket. Our carriage will call for you at half-past nine. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY SEWARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 6, 1865.

*My dear Sir:* I have some wish that Thomas D. Jones, of Cincinnati, and John J. Piatt, now in this city, should have some of those moderate sized consulates which facilitate artists a little in their profession. Please watch for chances.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* In accordance with a joint resolution of Congress, approved

December 17, 1863, I now have the honor of transmitting and presenting to you, in the name of the people of the United States of America, a copy of said resolution, engrossed on parchment, together with the gold medal therein ordered and directed.

Please accept for yourself and all under your command the renewed expression of my gratitude for your and their arduous and well-performed public service.

Your obedient servant,                      A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL JOHN POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1865.

*Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:*

Please state briefly, by telegraph, what you concluded about the assessments in St. Louis County. Early in the war one Samuel B. Churchill was sent from St. Louis to Louisville, where I have quite satisfactory evidence that he has not misbehaved. Still I am told his property at St. Louis is subjected to the assessment, which I think it ought not to be. Still I wish to know what you think.                      A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTERS TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 8, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*

Your two despatches to the Secretary of War,

one relating to supplies for the enemy going by the Blackwater, and the other to General Singleton and Judge Hughes, have been laid before me by him. As to Singleton and Hughes, I think they are not in Richmond by any authority, unless it be from you. I remember nothing from me which could aid them in getting there, except a letter to you, as follows, to wit:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 7, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT: General Singleton, who bears you this, claims that he already has arrangements made, if you consent, to bring a large amount of Southern produce through your lines. For its bearing on our finances, I would be glad for this to be done, if it can be, without injuriously disturbing your military operations, or supplying the enemy. I wish you to be judge and master on these points. Please see and hear him fully, and decide whether anything, and, if anything, what, can be done in the premises.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

I believe I gave Hughes a card putting him with Singleton on the same letter. However this may be, I now authorize you to get Singleton and Hughes away from Richmond, if you choose, and can. I also authorize you, by an order, or in what form you choose, to suspend all operations on the Treasury-trade permits, in all places southeastward of the Alleghanies.

If you make such order, notify me of it, giving a copy, so that I can give corresponding direction to the Navy. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*

I see your despatch to the Secretary of War, objecting to rebel prisoners being allowed to take the oath and go free. Supposing that I am responsible for what is done in this way, I think fit to say that there is no general rule of action, allowing prisoners to be discharged merely on taking the oath. What has been done is that members of Congress come to me, from time to time, with lists of names, alleging that from personal knowledge, and evidence of reliable persons, they are satisfied that it is safe to discharge the particular persons named on the lists, and I have ordered their discharge. These members are chiefly from the border States, and those they get discharged are their neighbors and neighbors' sons. They tell me that they do not bring to me one-tenth of the names which are brought to them, bringing only such as their knowledge or the proof satisfies them about. I have, on the same principle, discharged some on the representations of others than members of Congress; as, for instance, Governor Johnson, of Tennessee. The number I have discharged

has been rather larger than I liked, reaching, I should think, an average of fifty a day since the recent general exchange commenced. On the same grounds, last year, I discharged quite a number at different times, aggregating perhaps a thousand Missourians and Kentuckians; and their members, returning here since the prisoners' return to their homes, report to me only two cases of proving false. Doubtless some more have proved false; but, on the whole, I believe what I have done in this way has done good rather than harm. A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION OFFERING PARDON TO DESERT-  
ERS, March 11, 1865

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas the twenty-first section of the act of Congress approved on the third instant, entitled "An act to amend the several acts heretofore passed to provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," requires:

That in addition to the other lawful penalties of the crime of desertion from the military or naval service, all persons who have deserted the military or naval service of the United States who shall not re-

turn to said service, or report themselves to a Provost Marshal within sixty days after the proclamation hereinafter mentioned, shall be deemed and taken to have voluntarily relinquished and forfeited their rights of citizenship and their rights to become citizens, and such deserters shall be forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof; and all persons who shall hereafter desert the military or the naval service, and all persons who, being duly enrolled, shall depart the jurisdiction of the district in which he is enrolled, or go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to avoid any draft into the military or the naval service, duly ordered, shall be liable to the penalties of this section. And the President is hereby authorized and required forthwith, on the passage of this act, to issue his proclamation setting forth the provisions of this section, in which proclamation the President is requested to notify all deserters returning within sixty days as aforesaid, that they shall be pardoned on condition of returning to their regiments and companies, or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to, until they shall have served for a period of time equal to their original term of enlistment.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, as required by said act, ordering and requiring all deserters to return to their proper posts; and I do hereby notify

them that all deserters who shall within sixty days from the date of this proclamation—viz., on or before the tenth day of May, 1865—return to service, or report themselves to a Provost Marshal, shall be pardoned, on condition that they return to their regiments and companies, or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to, and serve the remainder of their original terms of enlistment, and, in addition thereto, a period equal to the time lost by desertion.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of March, in the year of [L. S.] our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
Secretary of State.

#### LETTER TO JOHN Z. GOODRICH

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1865.

*My dear Sir:* Your official term expires about this time. I know not whether you desire a reappointment, and I am not aware of any objection to you—personal, political, or offi-



cial. Yet if it be true, as I have been informed, that the office is of no pecuniary consequence to you, it would be quite a relief to me to have it at my disposal. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO THURLOW WEED

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 15, 1865.

*Dear Mr. Weed:* Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it.

Truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

#### \*TELEGRAM TO COLONEL R. M. HOUGH AND OTHERS

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 17, 1865.

*Col. R. M. Hough and Others, Chicago, Ill.:*  
Yours received. The best I can do with it is to refer it to the War Department. The Rock

Island case referred to, was my individual enterprise, and it caused so much difficulty in so many ways that I promised to never undertake another.

A. LINCOLN.

ADDRESS TO AN INDIANA REGIMENT, March  
17, 1865

*Fellow-citizens:* A few words only. I was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, reside in Illinois, and now, here, it is my duty to care equally for the good people of all the States. I am to-day glad of seeing it in the power of an Indiana regiment to present this captured flag to the good governor of their State; and yet I would not wish to compliment Indiana above other States, remembering that all have done so well.

There are but few aspects of this great war on which I have not already expressed my views by speaking or writing. There is one—the recent effort of “our erring brethren,” sometimes so called, to employ the slaves in their armies. The great question with them has been, “Will the negro fight for them?” They ought to know better than we, and doubtless do know better than we. I may incidentally remark, that having in my life heard many arguments—or strings of words meant to pass for arguments—intended

to show that the negro ought to be a slave—if he shall now really fight to keep himself a slave, it will be a far better argument why he should remain a slave than I have ever before heard. He, perhaps, ought to be a slave if he desires it ardently enough to fight for it. Or, if one out of four will, for his own freedom, fight to keep the other three in slavery, he ought to be a slave for his selfish meanness. I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear any one arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.

There is one thing about the negro's fighting for the rebels which we can know as well as they can, and that is that they cannot at the same time fight in their armies and stay at home and make bread for them. And this being known and remembered, we can have but little concern whether they become soldiers or not. I am rather in favor of the measure, and would at any time, if I could, have loaned them a vote to carry it. We have to reach the bottom of the insurgent resources; and that they employ, or seriously think of employing, the slaves as soldiers, gives us glimpses of the bottom. Therefore I am glad of what we learn on this subject.

PROCLAMATION CONCERNING INDIANS, March  
17, 1865  
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas reliable information has been received that hostile Indians, within the limits of the United States, have been furnished with arms and munitions of war by persons dwelling in continuous foreign territory, and are thereby enabled to prosecute their savage warfare upon the exposed and sparse settlements of the frontier;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and direct that all persons detected in that nefarious traffic shall be arrested and tried by court-martial at the nearest military post, and if convicted, shall receive the punishment due to their deserts.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this seventeenth day of March, in the year  
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
Secretary of State.

ORDER ANNULING THE SENTENCE AGAINST  
BENJAMIN G. SMITH AND FRANKLIN W.  
SMITH, March 18, 1865

I am unwilling for the sentence to stand, and be executed, to any extent in this case. In the absence of a more adequate motive than the evidence discloses, I am wholly unable to believe in the existence of criminal or fraudulent intent on the part of the men of such well established good character. If the evidence went as far to establish a guilty profit of one or two hundred thousand dollars, as it does of one or two hundred dollars, the case would, on the question of guilt, bear a far different aspect. That on this contract, involving some twelve hundred thousand dollars, the contractors would plan, and attempt to execute a fraud, which, at the most, could profit them only one or two hundred, or even one thousand dollars, is to my mind beyond the power of rational belief. That they did not, in such a case, make far greater gains, proves that they did not, with guilty or fraudulent intent, make at all. The judgment and sentence are disapproved, and declared null, and the defendants are fully discharged.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 19, 1865.

*Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:*  
Understanding that the plan of action for Missouri contained in your letter to the governor of that State, and your other letter to me, is concurred in by the governor, it is approved by me, and you will be sustained in proceeding upon it.  
A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR SWANN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 20, 1865.

*Governor Swann, Baltimore, Maryland:* I wish you would find Cresswell and bring him with you, and see me to-morrow.  
A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL ORD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May [March] 20, 1865.

*Major-General Ord, Army of the James:* Is it true that George W. Lane is detained at Norfolk without any charge against him? And if so why is it done?  
A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 20, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:*  
Your kind invitation received. Had already

thought of going immediately after the next rain. Will go sooner if any reason for it. Mrs. Lincoln and a few others will probably accompany me. Will notify you of exact time, once it shall be fixed upon. A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO JUDGE SCATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 21, 1865.

*Hon. Walter B. Scates, Centralia, Ill.:* If you choose to go to New Mexico and reside, I will appoint you chief justice there. What say you? Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO CAPTAIN LINCOLN

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1865.

*Captain R. T. Lincoln, City Point, Virginia:* We now think of starting to you about 1 P. M. Thursday. Don't make public. A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 22, 1865.

*Major-General Hancock, Winchester, Virginia:* Seeing your despatch about General Crook, and fearing that through misapprehension something unpleasant may occur, I send you below two despatches of General Grant, which I suppose will fully explain General Crook's movements. A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 23, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia:* We start to you at 1 P. M. to-day. May lie over during the dark hours of the night. Very small party of us. A. LINCOLN.

## \*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL DODGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 23, 1865.

*General Dodge, Saint Louis, Mo.:* Allow Mrs. R. S. Ewell the benefit of my amnesty proclamation on her taking the oath.

A. LINCOLN.

## \* TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON

(Cipher.)

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, March 25, 1865.

*Hon. Edwin M. Stanton:* I am here within five miles of the scene of this morning's action. I have nothing to add to what General Meade reports except that I have seen the prisoners myself and they look like there might be the number he states—1,600.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., March 25, 1865. 8:30 A. M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* Arrived here all



safe about 9 P. M. yesterday. No war news. General Grant does not seem to know very much about Yeatman, but thinks very well of him so far as he does know.

I like Mr. Whiting very much, and hence would wish him to remain or resign as best suits himself. Hearing this much from me, do as you think best in the matter. General Lee has sent the Russell letter back, concluding, as I understand from Grant, that their dignity does not admit of their receiving the document from us. Robert just now tells me there was a little rum-pus up the line this morning, ending about where it began.

A. LINCOLN.

**\*TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON**

CITY POINT, VA., March 26, 1865.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* I approve your Fort Sumter programme. Grant don't seem to know Yeatman very well, but thinks very well of him so far as he knows. Thinks it probable that Y. is here now, for the place. I told you this yesterday as well as that you should do as you think best about Mr. Whiting's resignation, but I suppose you did not receive the despatch. I am on the boat and have no later war news than went to you last night.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAMS TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., March 27, 1865. 3:35 P. M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* Yours inclosing Fort Sumter order received. I think of but one suggestion. I feel quite confident that Sumter fell on the 13th, and not on the 14th of April, as you have it. It fell on Saturday, the 13th; the first call for troops on our part was got up on Sunday, the 14th, and given date and issued on Monday, the 15th. Look up the old almanac and other data, and see if I am not right.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., March 28, 1865. 12 M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* After your explanation, I think it is little or no difference whether the Fort Sumter ceremony takes place on the 13th or 14th.

General Sherman tells me he is well acquainted with James Yeatman, and that he thinks him almost the best man in the country for anything he will undertake.

A. LINCOLN.

## \*TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., March 30, 1865. 7:30 P. M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* I begin to feel that I ought to be at home and yet I dislike to leave

without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement. He has now been out since yesterday morning, and although he has not been diverted from his programme, no considerable effort has yet been produced so far as we know here. Last night at 10.15 p. m. when it was dark as a rainy night without a moon could be, a furious cannonade, soon joined in by a heavy musketry fire, opened near Petersburg and lasted about two hours. The sound was very distinct here as also were the flashes of the guns upon the clouds. It seemed to me a great battle, but the older hands here scarcely noticed it, and sure enough this morning it was found that very little had been done.

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAMS TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., March 31, 1865. 3 P. M.

*Secretary Stanton:* At 12.30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphed me as follows:

There has been much hard fighting this morning. The enemy drove our left from near Dabney's house back well toward the Boydton plank road. We are now about to take the offensive at that point, and I hope will more than recover the lost ground.

Later he telegraphed again as follows:

Our troops, after being driven back to the Boydton

plank road, turned and drove the enemy in turn and took the White Oak road, which we now have. This gives us the ground occupied by the enemy this morning. I will send you a rebel flag captured by our troops in driving the enemy back. There have been four flags captured to-day.

Judging by the two points from which General Grant telegraphs, I infer that he moved his headquarters about one mile since he sent the first of the two despatches. A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, April 1, 1865. 12:50 P. M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* I have had two dispatches from General Grant since my last to you, but they contain little additional, except that Sheridan also had pretty hot work yesterday, that infantry was sent to his support during the night, and that he (Grant) has not since heard from Sheridan.

Mrs. Lincoln has started home, and I will thank you to see that our coachman is at the Arsenal wharf at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, there to wait until she arrives.

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

CITY POINT, April 1, 1865. 5:45 P. M.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* Yours showing Sheridan's success of to-day is just received,

and highly appreciated. Having no great deal to do here, I am still sending the substance of your dispatches to the Secretary of War.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON

(*Cipher*)

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA,

April 1, 1865. 5:30 P. M.

*Hon. Edwin M. Stanton:* Dispatch just received showing that Sheridan, aided by Warren had at 2 p. m. pushed the enemy back so as to retake the five forks and bring his own headquarters up to I. Boisseans. The five forks were barricaded by the enemy and carried by Diven's division of cavalry. This part of the enemy seems to now be trying to work along the White Oak road to join the main force in front of Grant, while Sheridan and Warren are pressing them as closely as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAMS TO MRS. LINCOLN

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA,

April 2, 1865. 7:45 P. M.

*Mrs. A. Lincoln, Washington, D. C.:* Last night Gen. Grant telegraphed that Sheridan with his Cavalry and the 5th Corps had captured three brigades of Infantry, a train of

wagons, and several batteries, prisoners amounting to several thousands. This morning Gen. Grant, having ordered an attack along the whole line telegraphs as follows:

Both Wright and Parks got through the enemy's lines. The battle now rages furiously. Sheridan with his cavalry, the Fifth Corps, and Miles' Division of the Second Corps, which was sent to him this morning, is now sweeping down from the west. All now looks highly favorable. General Ord is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result in his front.

Robert yesterday wrote a little cheerful note to Capt. Penrose, which is all I have heard of him since you left. Copy to Secretary of War.  
A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 2, 1865.

*Mrs. Lincoln:* At 4:30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphs that he has Petersburg completely enveloped from river below to river above, and has captured since he started last Wednesday, about 12,000 prisoners and 50 guns. He suggests that I shall go out and see him in the morning, which I think I will do. Tad and I are both well, and will be glad to see you and your party here at the time you name.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAMS TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., April 2, 1865. 8:30 A. M.

*Hon. E. M. Stanton:* Last night General Grant telegraphed that General Sheridan, with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps, had captured three brigades of infantry, a train of wagons, and several batteries; the prisoners amounting to several thousand. This morning General Grant, having ordered an attack along the whole line, telegraphs as follows:

Both Wright and Parke got through the enemy's lines. The battle now rages furiously. General Sheridan, with his cavalry, the Fifth Corps, and Miles's Division of the Second Corps, which was sent to him this morning, is now sweeping down from the west.

All now looks highly favorable. General Ord is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result in his front.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, April 2. 11:00 A. M.

Despatches are frequently coming in. All is going on finely. Generals Parke, Wright, and Ord's lines are extending from the Appomattox to Hatcher's Run. They have all broken through the enemy's intrenched lines, taking some forts, guns, and prisoners.

Sheridan, with his own cavalry, the Fifth

Corps, and part of the Second, is coming in from the west on the enemy's flank. Wright is already tearing up the Southside Railroad.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 2. 2 P. M.

At 10.45 A. M. General Grant telegraphs as follows:

Everything has been carried from the left of the Ninth Corps. The Sixth Corps alone captured more than 3,000 prisoners. The Second and Twenty-fourth Corps captured forts, guns, and prisoners from the enemy, but I cannot tell the numbers. We are now closing around the works of the line immediately enveloping Petersburg. All looks remarkably well. I have not yet heard from Sheridan. His headquarters have been moved up to Banks's house, near the Boydton road, about three miles southwest of Petersburg.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 2. 8:30 P. M.

At 4.30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphs as follows:

We are now up and have a continuous line of troops, and in a few hours will be intrenched from the Appomattox below Petersburg to the river above. The whole captures since the army started out will not amount to less than 12,000 men, and probably fifty pieces of artillery. I do not know the number of men and guns accurately, however. A portion of



Foster's Division, Twenty-fourth Corps, made a most gallant charge this afternoon, and captured a very important fort from the enemy, with its entire garrison. All seems well with us, and everything is quiet just now.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 3, 1865. 8:30 A. M.

This morning Lieutenant-General Grant reports Petersburg evacuated, and he is confident that Richmond also is.

He is pushing forward to cut off, if possible, the retreating rebel army.

A. LINCOLN.

**\*TELEGRAMS TO SECRETARY STANTON**

*(Cipher)*

CITY POINT, VA., April 3, 1865. 5 P. M.

*Hon. Edwin M. Stanton:* Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg, stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself.

A. LINCOLN.

*(Cipher.)*

CITY POINT, VA., April 4, 1865. 8 A. M.

General Weitzel telegraphs from Richmond that of railroad stock he found there, 28 locomo-

tives, 44 passenger and baggage cars, and 106 freight cars. At 3.30 this evening General Grant from Southerland Station, 10 miles from Petersburg toward Burkesville telegraphs as follows:

"General Sheridan picked up 1,200 prisoners to-day and from 300 to 500 more have been gathered by other troops. The majority of the arms that were left in the hands of the remnant of Lee's army are now scattered between Richmond and where his troops are. The country is also full of stragglers, the line of retreat marked with artillery, ammunition, burned or charred wagons, caissons, ambulances, &c."

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BANKS

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA,

April 5, 1865. 7:30 P. M.

*Major-General N. P. Banks, New York:*  
Yours of to-day just received. I have been so much occupied with other thoughts that I really have no directions to give you. You may go at once, and you and I will correspond when desired by either.

A. LINCOLN, President.

UNSIGNED MEMORANDUM GIVEN TO J. A.  
CAMPBELL April 5, 1865.

'As to peace, I have said before, and now

repeat, that three things are indispensable:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout the United States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government. That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality.

I now add that it seems useless for me to be more specific with those who will not say that they are ready for the indispensable terms, even on conditions to be named by themselves. If there be any who are ready for these indispensable terms, on any conditions whatever, let them say so, and state their conditions, so that the conditions can be known and considered. It is further added, that the remission of confiscation being within the executive power, if the war be now further persisted in by those opposing the government, the making of confiscated property at the least to bear the additional cost will be insisted on, but that confiscations (except in case of third party intervening interests) will be re-

mitted to the people of any State which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops from further resistance to the government. What is now said as to the remission of confiscation has not reference to supposed property in slaves.

\*TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., April 5, 1865.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* Yours of to-day received. I think there is no probability of my remaining here more than two days longer. If that is too long come down. I passed last night at Richmond and have just returned.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO U. S. GRANT

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,

CITY POINT, April 6, 1865. 12 M.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, in the Field:* Secretary Seward was thrown from his carriage yesterday and seriously injured. This, with other matters, will take me to Washington soon. I was at Richmond yesterday and the day before, when and where Judge Campbell, who was with Messrs. Hunter and Stephens in February, called on me, and made such representations as induced me to put in his hands an informal paper, repeating the propositions in my letter of instructions to Mr. Seward, which

you remember, and adding that if the war be now further persisted in by the rebels, confiscated property shall at the least bear the additional cost, and that confiscation shall be remitted to the people of any State which will now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops and other support from resistance to the government.

Judge Campbell thought it not impossible that the rebel legislature of Virginia would do the latter if permitted; and accordingly I addressed a private letter to General Weitzel, with permission to Judge Campbell to see it, telling him (General Weitzel) that if they attempt this, to permit and protect them, unless they attempt something hostile to the United States, in which case to give them notice and time to leave, and to arrest any remaining after such time.

I do not think it very probable that anything will come of this, but I have thought best to notify you so that if you should see signs you may understand them.

From your recent despatches it seems that you are pretty effectually withdrawing the Virginia troops from opposition to the government. Nothing that I have done, or probably shall do, is to delay, hinder, or interfere with your work.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. WEITZEL

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,  
CITY POINT, April 6, 1865.

*Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Va.:* It has been intimated to me that the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion may now desire to assemble at Richmond and take measures to withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government. If they attempt it, give them permission and protection, until, if at all, they attempt some action hostile to the United States, in which case you will notify them, give them reasonable time to leave, and at the end of which time arrest any who remain. Allow Judge Campbell to see this, but do not make it public.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAMS TO SECRETARY STANTON

CITY POINT, VA., April 7, 1865. 8:35 A. M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* At 11.15 P. M. yesterday at Burkesville Station, General Grant sends me the following from General Sheridan:

A. LINCOLN.

April 6. 11:15 P. M.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* I have the honor to report that the enemy made a stand at the intersection

of the Burks Station road with the road upon which they were retreating. I attacked them with two divisions of the Sixth Army Corps and routed them handsomely, making a connection with the cavalry. I am still pressing on with both cavalry and infantry. Up to the present time we have captured Generals Ewell, Kershaw, Button, Corse, De Bare, and Custus Lee, several thousand prisoners, 14 pieces of artillery with caissons and a large number of wagons. If the thing is pressed I think Lee will surrender.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
Major-General, Commanding.  
A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, April 7, 1865. 9 A. M.

*Hon. Secretary of War:* The following further just received:

BURKESVILLE, VA.

*A. Lincoln:* The following telegrams respectfully forwarded for your information: U. S. GRANT.

SECOND ARMY CORPS, April 6. 7:30 P. M.

*Maj.-Gen. A. S. Webb:* Our last fight just before dark at Sailor's Creek gave us 2 guns, 3 flags, considerable numbers of prisoners, 200 wagons, 70 ambulances with mules and horses to about one-half the wagons and ambulances. There are between 30 and 50 wagons in addition abandoned and destroyed along the road, some battery wagons, forages, and limbers. I have already reported to you the capture of 1 gun, 2 flags and some prisoners, and the fact that the road

for over 2 miles is strewed with tents, baggage, cooking utensils, some ammunition, some material of all kinds, the wagons across the approach to the bridges, it will take some time to clear it. The enemy is in position on the heights beyond with artillery. The bridge partially destroyed and the approaches on other side are of soft bottom land. We cannot advance to-morrow in the same manner we have to-day. As soon as I get my troops up a little, we are considerably mixed, I might push a column down the road and deploy it but it is evident that I cannot follow rapidly during the night. A. A. HUMPHREYS.

A. LINCOLN.

**\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT**

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,

CITY POINT, April 7, 1865. 11 A. M.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* Gen. Sheridan says "If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed.

A. LINCOLN.

**RESPONSE TO A CALL—April 10, 1865.**

If the company had assembled by appointment, some mistake had crept into their understanding. He had appeared before a larger audience than this one to-day, and he would repeat what he then said—namely, he supposed owing to the great good news there would be some demonstration. He would prefer to-mor-



row evening, when he should be quite willing, and he hoped ready, to say something. He desired to be particular, because everything he said got into print. Occupying the position he did, a mistake would produce harm, and therefore he wanted to be careful not to make a mistake.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR PEIRPOINT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 10, 1865.

*Governor Peirpont, Alexandria, Va.:* Please come up and see me at once.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. H. GORDON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 11, 1865.

*Brig. Gen. G. H. Gordon, Norfolk, Va.:* Send to me at once a full statement as to the cause or causes for which, and by authority of what tribunal, George W. Lane, Charles Whitlock, Ezra Baker, J. M. Renshaw, and others are restrained of their liberty. Do this promptly and fully.

A. LINCOLN.

\*PASS TO W. H. LAMON AND FRIEND

Allow the bearer, W. H. Lamon and friend, with ordinary baggage to pass from Washington to Richmond and return.

April 11, 1865.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION—April 11, 1865.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas, by my proclamations of the nineteenth and twenty-seventh days of April, 1861, the ports of the United States, in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, were declared to be subject to blockade; but whereas, the said blockade has, in consequence of actual military occupation by this government, since been conditionally set aside or relaxed in respect to the ports of Norfolk and Alexandria, in the State of Virginia; Beaufort, in the State of North Carolina; Port Royal, in the State of South Carolina; Pensacola and Fernandina, in the State of Florida; and New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana;

And, whereas by the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," the President, for the reasons therein set forth, is authorized to close certain ports of entry;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do

hereby proclaim that the ports of Richmond, Tappahannock, Cherrystone, Yorktown, and Petersburg, in Virginia; of Camden (Elizabeth City), Edenton, Plymouth, Washington, Newbern, Ocracoke, and Wilmington, in North Carolina; of Charleston, Georgetown, and Beaufort, in South Carolina; of Savannah, St. Mary's and Brunswick (Darien), in Georgia; of Mobile, in Alabama; of Pearl River (Shieldsborough), Natchez, and Vicksburg, in Mississippi; of St. Augustine, Key West, St. Mark's (Port Leon), St. John's (Jacksonville), and Appalachicola, in Florida; of Teche (Franklin), in Louisiana; of Galveston, La Salle, Brazos de Santiago (Point Isabel), and Brownsville, in Texas, are hereby closed, and all right of importation, warehousing, and other privileges shall, in respect to the ports aforesaid, cease until they shall have again been opened by order of the President; and if, while said ports are so closed, any ship or vessel from beyond the United States, or having on board any articles subject to duties, shall attempt to enter any such ports, the same, together with its tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, shall be forfeited to the United States.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh

day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

PROCLAMATION—April 11, 1865.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas, by my proclamation of this date, the port of Key West, in the State of Florida, was inadvertently included among those which are not open to commerce;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby declare and make known that the said port of Key West is and shall remain open to foreign and domestic commerce upon the same conditions by which that commerce has there hitherto been governed.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this [L. S.] eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and

sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

PROCLAMATION—April 11, 1865.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas, for some time past, vessels of war of the United States have been refused, in certain foreign ports, privileges and immunities to which they were entitled by treaty, public law, or the comity of nations, at the same time that vessels of war of the country wherein the said privileges and immunities have been withheld, have enjoyed them fully and uninterruptedly in ports of the United States, which condition of things has not always been forcibly resisted by the United States, although, on the other hand, they have not at any time failed to protest against and declare their dissatisfaction with the same; [and whereas,] in the view of the United States, no condition any longer exists which can be claimed to justify the denial to them, by any one of such nations, of customary naval rights, as has heretofore been so unnecessarily persisted in;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby make known, that if, after a reasonable time shall have elapsed for intelligence of this proclamation to have reached any foreign country in whose ports the said privileges and immunities shall have been refused, as aforesaid, they shall continue to be so refused; then and thenceforth the same privileges and immunities shall be refused to the vessels of war of that country in the ports of the United States, and this refusal shall continue until war-vessels of the United States, shall have been placed upon an entire equality in the foreign ports aforesaid with similar vessels of other countries. The United States, whatever claim or pretense may have existed heretofore, are now, at least, entitled to claim and concede an entire and friendly equality of rights and hospitalities with all maritime nations.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 11th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

## LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS—April 11, 1865

**W**E meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part give us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skilful officers and brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part.

<sup>1</sup>On April 9 Lee had surrendered. The principal theme of this last public utterance is naturally reconstruction—that difficult process which, if Lincoln had lived to complete it, would have been better and more speedily accomplished than it was eventually.

By these recent successes the reinauguration of the national authority—reconstruction—which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with—no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mold from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner, and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana.

In this I have done just so much, and no more than, the public knows. In the annual message of December, 1863, and in the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, should be acceptable to and sustained by the executive government of



the nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable, and I also distinctly protested that the executive claimed no right to say when or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was in advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and distinctly approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then and in that connection apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the theretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana; that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people, and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members to Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana.

The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and it is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that, as it applies to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it from

any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested [in] seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Louisiana. When the message of 1863, with the plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans, General Banks wrote me that he was confident that the people, with his military coöperation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government.

As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest; but I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have

purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction.

We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on

which the new Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000 or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of only about 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free-State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their legislature has already voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the

Union and to perpetual freedom in the State—committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants—and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good their committal.

Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how. If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it

sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.

Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Constitution. To meet this proposition it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable, and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely

become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL G. WEITZEL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 12, 1865.

*Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Va.:* I have seen your despatch to Colonel Hardie about the matter of prayers. I do not remember hearing prayers spoken of while I was in Richmond; but I have no doubt you have acted in what appeared to you to be the spirit and temper manifested by me while there. Is there any sign of the rebel legislature coming together on the understanding of my letter to you? If there is any such sign, inform me what it is; if there is no such sign, you may withdraw the offer.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1865.

*Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Va.:* I have just seen Judge Campbell's letter to you of the 7th. He assumes, as appears to me, that I have called the insurgent legislature of Virginia to-

gether, as the rightful legislature of the State, to settle all differences with the United States. I have done no such thing. I spoke of them, not as a legislature, but as "the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion." I did this on purpose to exclude the assumption that I was recognizing them as a rightful body. I dealt with them as men having power *de facto* to do a specific thing, to-wit: "To withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government," for which, in the paper handed Judge Campbell, I promised a specific equivalent, to-wit: a remission to the people of the State, except in certain cases, of the confiscation of their property. I meant this, and no more. Inasmuch, however, as Judge Campbell misconstrues this, and is still pressing for an armistice, contrary to the explicit statement of the paper I gave him, and particularly as General Grant has since captured the Virginia troops, so that giving a consideration for their withdrawal is no longer applicable, let my letter to you and the paper to Judge Campbell both be withdrawn, or countermanded, and he be notified of it. Do not now allow them to assemble, but if any have come, allow them safe return to their homes.

A. LINCOLN.



**\* NOTE TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 14, 1865.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* Please call at 11 A. M. to-day instead of 9 as agreed last evening.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

**\* LETTER TO GENERAL VAN ALLEN<sup>1</sup>**

WASHINGTON, April 14th, 1865.

*My dear Sir:* I intend to adopt the advice of my friends and use due precaution. . . . I thank you for the assurance you give me that I shall be supported by conservative men like yourself, in the efforts I may make to restore the Union, so as to make it, to use your language, a Union of hearts and hands as well as of States.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

**\* NOTE TO GEO. ASHMUN<sup>2</sup>**

Allow Mr. Ashmun and his friends to come in at 9 A. M. to-morrow.

April 14, 1865. A. LINCOLN.

<sup>1</sup> General Van Allen wrote Lincoln, requesting him, for the sake of his friends and the nation, to guard his life and not expose it to assassination as he had by going to Richmond. The above reply was written on the very day Lincoln was assassinated. Its discovery is due to the enthusiastic research of Mr. Gilbert A. Tracy, of Putnam, Conn.

<sup>2</sup> Card written just before leaving the White House for Ford's Theatre. The last recorded writing of Lincoln.



Last Photograph of Abraham Lincoln  
Six Weeks before his Death.

*Engraved from the Original Photograph taken on  
the Balcony of the White House, March  
6, 1865.*



# Appendix



## Appendix

**T**HE FOLLOWING letters and speeches not included in the original Nicolay and Hay edition of the "Works of Abraham Lincoln" have come to light too late for insertion in their regular places. The discovery of much of this new matter, as well as much which is included in the body of the work, is due to the co-operation of numerous collectors: particularly to those mentioned in the Preface, and to Mr. Gilbert A. Tracy, of Putnam, Connecticut. In addition to the new matter here given, a certain number of other items have been discovered. Most of them have been excluded because they merely duplicated much of the text and some because they are of at least doubtful origin. It is believed, however, that no important authentic letter or speech of Lincoln has been omitted.

### REPUTED FIRST POLITICAL SPEECH

March (?), 1832.

*Fellow-Citizens:* I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I

am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not it will be all the same.

#### LETTER TO JOHN T. STUART

VANDALIA, February 14, 1839.

*Dear Stuart:* I have a note in bank which falls due some time between the 20th and last of this month. Butler stands as principal, and I as security; but I am in reality the principal. It will take between fifty and fifty-five dollars to renew it. Butler has more than that much money in his hands which he collected on a debt of mine since I came away. I wish you to call at the bank, have a note filled over my name signed below, get Butler to sign it, and also to let you have the money to renew it. Ewing won't do anything. He is not worth a damn.

Your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO JAMES S. IRWIN

SPRINGFIELD, November 2, 1842.

*Jas. S. Irwin, Esq.:* Owing to my absence, yours of the 22nd ult. was not received till this moment. Judge Logan and myself are willing to attend to any business in the Supreme Court

you may send us. As to fees, it is impossible to establish a rule that will apply in all, or even a great many cases. We believe we are never accused of being unreasonable in this particular; and we would always be easily satisfied, provided we could see the money—but whatever fees we earn at a distance, if not paid before, we have noticed, we never hear of after the work is done. We, therefore, are growing a little sensitive on that point.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO C. B. SMITH

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 1, 1849.

*Dear Sir:* You remember my anxiety that Dr. A. G. Henry of this place, should be appointed Register of the Land office at Minnesota.

Since I left Washington, I have heard nothing of the matter. I suppose Mr. Evans of Maine, and yourself are constantly together now. I incline to believe he remembers me, and would not hesitate to oblige me, when he conveniently could.

Now I will do twice as much for both of you, some time, if he and you will take some leisure moment to call on Mr. Ewing, and, in as graceful a way as possible, urge on him the appoint-



ment of Henry. I have always had a tolerably high hope that Mr. Ewing will appoint Henry, if he does not forget my peculiar anxiety about it.

Write me soon. Your friend as ever,  
A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO A. B. MOREAU

SPRINGFIELD, March 23, 1855.

*Sir:* Stranger though I am, personally, being a brother in the faith, I venture to write to you. Yates can not come to your court next week. He is obliged to be at Pike court where he has a case, with a fee of five hundred dollars, two hundred dollars already paid. To neglect it would be unjust to himself, and dishonest to his client. Harris will be with you, head up and tail up, for Nebraska. You must have some one to make an anti-Nebraska speech. Palmer is the best, if you can get him, I think. Jo. Gillespie, if you cannot get Palmer, and somebody anyhow, if you can get neither. But press Palmer hard. It is in his Senatorial district, I believe.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO O. H. BROWNING

SPRINGFIELD, March 23, 1855.

*My dear Sir:* Your letter to Judge Logan

has been shown to us by him; and, with his consent, we answer it. When it became probable that there would be a vacancy on the Supreme Bench, public opinion, on this side of the river, seemed to be universally directed to Logan as the proper man to fill it. I mean public opinion on *our* side in politics, with very small manifestation in any different direction by the other side. The result is, that he has been a good deal pressed to allow his name to be used, and he has consented to it, provided it can be done with perfect cordiality and good feeling on the part of all our own friends. We, the undersigned, are very anxious for it; and the more so now that he has been urged, until his mind is turned upon the matter. We, therefore are very glad of your letter, with the information it brings us, mixed only with a regret that we can not elect Logan and Walker both. We shall be glad, if you will hoist Logan's name, in your Quincy papers.

Very truly your friends,

A. LINCOLN,

B. S. EDWARDS,

JOHN T. STUART.

#### LETTER TO HENRY C. WHITNEY

SPRINGFIELD, June 7, 1855.

*My dear Sir:* Your note containing election

news is received; and for which I thank you. It is all of no use, however. Logan is worse beaten than any other man ever was since elections were invented, beaten more than 1200 in this county.

It is conceded on all hands that the Prohibitory law is also beaten. Yours truly,  
A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO HENRY C. WHITNEY

SPRINGFIELD, December 18, 1857.

*My dear Sir:* Coming home from Bloomington last night I found your letter of the 15th.

I know of no express statute or decisions as to what a J. P. upon the expiration of his term shall do with his docket books, papers, unfinished business, &c., but so far as I know, the practice has been to hand over to the successor, and to cease to do anything further whatever, in perfect analogy to Sec.'s 110 and 112—and I have supposed and do suppose this is the law. I think the successor may forthwith do, whatever the retiring J. P. might have done. As to the proviso to Sec. 114 I think it was put in to cover possible cases, by way of caution, and not to authorize the J. P. to go forward and finish up whatever might have been begun by him.

The view I take I believe is the common law

principle as to retiring officers and their successors, to which I remember but one exception, which is the case of sheriffs and ministerial officers of that class. I have not had time to examine this subject fully, but I have great confidence I am right.

You must not think of offering me pay for this.

Mr. John O. Johnson is my friend; I gave your name to him. He is doing the work of trying to get up a Republican organization. I do not suppose "Long John" ever saw or heard of him. Let me say to you confidentially, that I do not entirely appreciate what the Republican papers of Chicago are so constantly saying against "Long John." I consider those papers truly devoted to the Republican cause, and not unfriendly to me; but I *do* think that more of what they say against "Long John" is dictated by personal malice than themselves are conscious of. We can not afford to lose the services of "Long John" and I do believe the unrelenting warfare made upon him is injuring our cause. I mean this to be confidential.

If you quietly co-operate with Mr. J. O. Johnson in getting up an organization, I think it will be right.

Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO MARK CARLEY

SPRINGFIELD, February 25, 1858.

*My dear Sir:* Your letter of the 20th was duly received. I have had a full talk on the subject, with the Governor to-day. He will not issue the commission. He says he is sorry for it; but as the question has been made, he can do no other than decide it as he thinks is right. His argument, in short, is this: As you state the facts yourself, he thinks you had no legal residence in the precinct when you were elected; clearly you were not entitled to vote in the precinct, and therefore he thinks you could not be lawfully voted for in it. He asks "Can you not move your residence into the precinct, and be elected again?"

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO HENRY C. WHITNEY

SPRINGFIELD, June 24, 1858.

*My dear Sir:* Your letter enclosing the attack of the *Times* upon me was received this morning. Give yourself no concern about my voting against the supplies, unless you are without faith that a lie can be successfully contradicted. There is not a word of truth in the charge, and I am just considering a little as to

the best shape to put a contradiction in. Show this to whomever you please, but do not publish it in the papers. Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

FRAGMENT OF SPEECH AT PARIS, ILLINOIS. September 8, 1858

Let us inquire what Judge Douglas really invented when he introduced the Nebraska Bill. He called it popular sovereignty. What does that mean? It means the sovereignty of the people over their own affairs—in other words, the right of the people to govern themselves. Did Judge Douglas invent this? Not quite. The idea of popular sovereignty was floating about several ages before the author of the Nebraska Bill was born—indeed, before Columbus set foot on this continent. In the year 1776 it took form in the noble words which you are all familiar with: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,” etc. Was not this the origin of popular sovereignty as applied to the American people? Here we are told that governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. If that is not popular sovereignty, then I have no conception of the meaning of words. If Judge Douglas did not invent this kind of popular

sovereignty, let us pursue the inquiry and find out what kind he did invent. Was it the right of emigrants to Kansas and Nebraska to govern themselves, and a lot of "niggers," too, if they wanted them? Clearly this was no invention of his, because General Cass put forth the same doctrine in 1848 in his so-called Nicholson letter, six years before Douglas thought of such a thing. Then what was it that the "Little Giant" invented? It never occurred to General Cass to call his discovery by the odd name of popular sovereignty. He had not the face to say that the right of the people to govern "niggers" was the right of the people to govern themselves. His notions of the fitness of things were not moulded to the brazenness of calling the right to put a hundred "niggers" through under the lash in Nebraska a "sacred" right of self-government. And here I submit to you was Judge Douglas's discovery, and the whole of it: He discovered that the right to breed and flog negroes in Nebraska was popular sovereignty.

FRAGMENT OF SPEECH AT EDWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS, September 13, 1858

I have been requested to give a concise statement of the difference, as I understand it, between the Democratic and Republican parties,

on the leading issue of the campaign. This question has been put to me by a gentleman whom I do not know. I do not even know whether he is a friend of mine or a supporter of Judge Douglas in this contest, nor does that make any difference. His question is a proper one. Lest I should forget it, I will give you my answer before proceeding with the line of argument I have marked out for this discussion.

The difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties on the leading issues of the contest, as I understand it, is that the former consider slavery a moral, social and political wrong, while the latter do not consider it either a moral, a social or a political wrong; and the action of each, as respects the growth of the country and the expansion of our population, is squared to meet these views. I will not affirm that the Democratic party consider slavery morally, socially and politically right, though their tendency to that view has, in my opinion, been constant and unmistakable for the past five years. I prefer to take, as the accepted maxim of the party, the idea put forth by Judge Douglas, that he "don't care whether slavery is voted down or voted up." I am quite willing to believe that many Democrats would prefer that slavery should be always voted down, and I know that some prefer that it be



always "voted up"; but I have a right to insist that their action, especially if it be their constant action, shall determine their ideas and preferences on this subject. Every measure of the Democratic party of late years, bearing directly or indirectly on the slavery question, has corresponded with this notion of utter indifference whether slavery or freedom shall outrun in the race of empire across to the Pacific—every measure, I say, up to the Dred Scott decision, where, it seems to me, the idea is boldly suggested that slavery is better than freedom. The Republican party, on the contrary, hold that this government was instituted to secure the blessings of freedom, and that slavery is an unqualified evil to the negro, to the white man, to the soil, and to the State. Regarding it as an evil, they will not molest it in the States where it exists, they will not overlook the constitutional guards which our fathers placed around it; they will do nothing that can give proper offence to those who hold slaves by legal sanction; but they will use every constitutional method to prevent the evil from becoming larger and involving more negroes, more white men, more soil, and more States in its deplorable consequences. They will, if possible, place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate peace-

able extinction in God's own good time. And to this end they will, if possible, restore the government to the policy of the fathers—the policy of preserving the new Territories from the baneful influence of human bondage, as the Northwestern Territories were sought to be preserved by the Ordinance of 1787, and the Compromise Act of 1820. They will oppose, in all its length and breadth, the modern Democratic idea, that slavery is as good as freedom, and ought to have room for expansion all over the continent, if people can be found to carry it. All, or nearly all, of Judge Douglas's arguments are logical, if you admit that slavery is as good and as right as freedom, and not one of them is worth a rush if you deny it. This is the difference, as I understand it, between the Republican and Democratic parties.

My friends, I have endeavored to show you the logical consequences of the Dred Scott decision, which holds that the people of a Territory cannot prevent the establishment of slavery in their midst. I have stated, which cannot be gainsaid, that the grounds upon which this decision is made are equally applicable to the free States as to the free Territories, and that the peculiar reasons put forth by Judge Douglas for indorsing this decision commit

him, in advance, to the next decision and to all other decisions coming from the same source. And when, by all these means, you have succeeded in dehumanizing the negro; when you have put him down and made it impossible for him to be but as the beasts of the field; when you have extinguished his soul in this world and placed him where the ray of hope is blown out as in the darkness of the damned, are you quite sure that the demon you have roused will not turn and rend you? What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you. And let me tell you, that all these things

are prepared for you by the teachings of history, if the elections shall promise that the next Dred Scott decision and all future decisions will be quietly acquiesced in by the people.

LETTER TO DR. C. H. RAY

SPRINGFIELD, November 20, 1858.

*My dear Sir:* I wish to preserve a set of the last debates (if they may be called so), between Douglas and myself. To enable me to do so, please get two copies of each number of your paper containing the whole, and send them to me by express; and I will pay you for the papers and for your trouble. I wish the two sets in order to lay one away in the [illegible word] and to put the other in a scrap-book. Remember if part of any debate is on both sides of the sheet it will take two sets to make one scrap-book.

I believe, according to a letter of yours to Hatch, you are "feeling like hell yet." Quit that. You will soon feel better. Another "blow up" is coming; and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to put down and to uphold the slave power; but no ingenuity can long keep the antagonism in harmony.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO HENRY C. WHITNEY

SPRINGFIELD, November 30, 1858.

*My dear Sir:* Being desirous of preserving in some permanent form the late joint discussions between Douglas and myself, ten days ago I wrote to Dr. Ray, requesting him to forward to me, by express, two sets of the numbers of the *Tribune*, which contain the reports of those discussions. Up to date I have no word from him on the subject. Will you, if in your power, procure them and forward them to me by Express? If you will, I will pay all charges, and be greatly obliged to boot. Hoping to meet you before long I remain,

As ever your friend, A. LINCOLN.

## NOTES OF AN ARGUMENT

December (?), 1858.

Legislation and adjudication must follow and conform to the progress of society.

The progress of society now begins to produce cases of the transfer for debts of the entire property of railroad corporations; and to enable transferees to use and enjoy the transferred property, legislation and adjudication begin to be necessary.

Shall this class of legislation just now beginning with us be general or special?

Section Ten of our Constitution requires that it should be general, if possible. (*Read the section.*)

Special legislation always trenches upon the judicial department; and in so far violates Section Two of the Constitution. (*Read it.*)

Just reasoning—policy—is in favor of general legislation—else the Legislature will be loaded down with the investigation of smaller cases—work which the courts ought to perform, and can perform much more perfectly. How can the Legislature rightly decide the facts between P. & B. and S. C. & Co.

It is said that under a general law, whenever a R. R. Co. gets tired of its debts, it may transfer fraudulently to get rid of them. So they may—so may individuals; and which—the Legislature or the Courts—is best suited to try the question of fraud in either case?

It is said, if a purchaser has acquired legal rights, let him not be robbed of them, but if he needs legislation let him submit to just terms to obtain it.

Let him, say we, have general law in advance (guarded in every possible way against fraud), so that, when he acquires a legal right, he will have no occasion to wait for additional legislation; and if he has practised fraud let the courts so decide.

## LETTER TO JAMES T. THORNTON

SPRINGFIELD, December 2, 1858.

*Dear Sir:* Yours of the 29th written in behalf of Mr. John H. Widner, is received. I am absent altogether too much to be a suitable instructor for a law student. When a man has reached the age that Mr. Widner has, and has already been doing for himself, my judgment is, that he reads the books for himself without an instructor. That is precisely the way I came to the law. Let Mr. Widner read Blackstone's Commentaries, Chitty's Pleadings, Greenleaf's Evidence, Story's Equity, and Story's Equity Pleadings, get a license, and go to the practice, and still keep reading. That is my judgment of the cheapest, quickest, and best way for Mr. Widner to make a lawyer of himself.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO HENRY C. WHITNEY

SPRINGFIELD, December 25, 1858.

*My dear Sir:* I have just received yours of the 23, inquiring whether I received the newspapers you sent me by Express. I did receive them, and am very much obliged. There is some probability that my Scrap-book will be reprinted; and if it shall I will save you a copy.

Your friend as ever, A. LINCOLN.

## FRAGMENT OF SPEECH AT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, December, 1859

But you Democrats are for the Union; and you greatly fear the success of the Republicans would destroy the Union. Why? Do the Republicans declare against the Union? Nothing like it. Your own statement of it is that if the Black Republicans elect a President, you "won't stand it." You will break up the Union. If we shall constitutionally elect a President, it will be our duty to see that you submit. Old John Brown has been executed for treason against a State. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right. So, if we constitutionally elect a President, and therefore you undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown has been dealt with. We shall try to do our duty. We hope and believe that in no section will a majority so act as to render such extreme measures necessary.

MEMORANDUM, December 22, (?) 1860

*Resolved:*

That the fugitive slave clause of the Con-



stitution ought to be enforced by a law of Congress, with efficient provisions for that object, not obliging private persons to assist in its execution, and with the usual safeguards to liberty, securing free men against being surrendered as slaves.

That all State laws, if there be such, really or apparently in conflict with such law of Congress, ought to be repealed; and no opposition to the execution of such law of Congress ought to be made.

That the Federal Union must be preserved.

#### CARD TO GENERAL RIPLEY

This introduces to Gen. Ripley, the Hon. Robt. Dale Owen, of Indiana, an intelligent, disinterested and patriotic gentleman, who wishes to talk briefly about arms,

Jan. 22, 1861.

A. LINCOLN.

#### REPLY TO THE PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION, WASHINGTON, March 5, 1861

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Delegation:* As I have so frequently said heretofore, when I have had occasion to address the people of the Keystone, in my visits to that State, I can now but repeat the assurance of my gratification at the support you gave me at the election, and at the promise of a continua-

tion of that support which is now tendered to me.

Allusion has been made to the hope that you entertain that you have a President and a government. In respect to that I wish to say to you that in the position I have assumed I wish to do more than I have ever given reason to believe I would do. I do not wish you to believe that I assume to be any better than others who have gone before me. I prefer rather to have it understood that if we ever have a government on the principles we profess, we should remember, while we exercise our opinion, that others have also rights to the exercise of their opinions, and that we should endeavor to allow these rights, and act in such a manner as to create no bad feeling. I hope we have a government and a President. I hope, and wish it to be understood, that there may be no allusion to unpleasant differences.

We must remember that the people of all the States are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States. We should bear this in mind, and act in such a way as to say nothing insulting or irritating. I would inculcate this idea, so that we may not, like Pharisees, set ourselves up to be better than other people.

Now, my friends, my public duties are press-

ing to-day, and will prevent my giving more time to you. Indeed, I should not have left them until now, but I could not well deny myself to so large and respectable a body.

REPLY TO THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATION,  
WASHINGTON, March 5, 1861

I am thankful for this renewed assurance of kind feeling and confidence, and the support of the old Bay State, in so far as you, Mr. Chairman, have expressed, in behalf of those whom you represent, your sanction of what I have enunciated in my inaugural address. This is very grateful to my feelings. The object was one of great delicacy, in presenting views at the opening of an administration under the peculiar circumstances attending my entrance upon the official duties connected with the Government. I studied all the points with great anxiety, and presented them with whatever of ability and sense of justice I could bring to bear. If it met the approbation of our good friends in Massachusetts, I shall be exceedingly gratified, while I hope it will meet the approbation of friends everywhere. I am thankful for the expressions of those who have voted with us; and like every other man of you, I like them as certainly as I do others. As the President in the administration of the Government, I hope

to be man enough not to know one citizen of the United States from another, nor one section from another. I shall be gratified to have good friends of Massachusetts and others who have thus far supported me in these national views still to support me in carrying them out.

LETTER TO JACOB COLLAMER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 12, 1861.

*My dear Sir:* God help me. It is said I have offended you. I hope you will tell me how. Yours very truly,      A. LINCOLN.

The reply to this letter, with Lincoln's indorsement of that reply, is as follows:

March 14, 1861.

*Dear Sir:* I am entirely unconscious that you have any way offended me. I cherish no sentiment towards you but that of kindness and confidence.

Your humble servant, J. COLLAMER.  
His Excellency, A. Lincoln, President.

(Returned with endorsement):

Very glad to know that I haven't.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MASTER GEORGE EVANS PATTEN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 19, 1861.

*Whom it may concern:* I did see and talk

with George Evans Patten, last May, at Springfield, Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

Respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1861.

*Adjutant-General:* I have agreed, and do agree, that the two Indiana regiments named within shall be accepted if the act of Congress shall admit it. Let there be no further question about it.

A. LINCOLN.

#### NOTE TO MAJOR RAMSEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 17, 1861.

*My dear Sir:* The lady bearer of this says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a want that it should be encouraged.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GOVERNOR WALKER

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1861.

*Dear Governor:* I have thought over the interview which Mr. Gilmore has had with Mr. Greeley, and the proposal that Greeley has made to Gilmore, namely, that he (Gilmore) shall communicate to him (Greeley) all that he

<sup>1</sup> The boy's companions refused to believe his statement. He wrote for a confirmation and received the above reply.

learns from you of the inner workings of the administration, in return for his (Greeley's) giving such aid as he can to the new magazine, and allowing you (Walker) from time to time the use of his (Greeley's) columns when it is desirable to feel of, or forestall, public opinion on important subjects. The arrangement meets my unqualified approval, and I shall further it to the extent of my ability, by opening to you—as I do now—fully the policy of the Government,—its present views and future intentions when formed,—giving you permission to communicate them to Gilmore for Greeley; and in case you go to Europe I will give these things direct to Gilmore. But all this must be on the express and explicit understanding that the fact of these communications coming from me shall be absolutely confidential,—not to be disclosed by Greeley to his nearest friend, or any of his subordinates. He will be, in effect, my mouth-piece, but I shall not be known to be the speaker.

I need not tell you that I have the highest confidence in Mr. Greeley. He is a great power. Having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of one hundred thousand men. That he has ever kicked the traces has been owing to his not being fully informed. Tell Gilmore to say to him that, if

he ever objects to my policy, I shall be glad to have him state to me his views frankly and fully. I shall adopt his if I can. If I cannot, I will at least tell him why. He and I should stand together, and let no minor differences come between us; for we both seek one end, which is the saving of our country. Now, Governor, this is a longer letter than I have written in a month,—longer than I would have written for any other man than Horace Greeley.

Your friend, truly,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

P. S.—The sooner Gilmore sees Greeley the better, as you may before long think it wise to ventilate our policy on the *Trent* affair.

#### CARD TO SECRETARY OF TREASURY

The Secretary of the Treasury will please consider Mr. Taylor's proposition. We must have money and I think this a good way to get it.

A. LINCOLN.

January 16, 1862.

#### MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, June 23, 1862

*To the Senate of the United States:* The bill which has passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, entitled "An act to repeal that part of an act of Congress which prohibits the circulation of bank-notes of a less denomination

than five dollars in the District of Columbia," has received my attentive consideration, and I now return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with the following objections.

1. The bill proposes to repeal the existing legislation prohibiting the circulation of bank-notes of a less denomination than five dollars within the District of Columbia, without permitting the issuing of such bills by banks not now legally authorized to issue them. In my judgment, it will be found impracticable, in the present condition of the currency, to make such a discrimination. The banks have generally suspended specie payments, and a legal sanction given to the circulation of the irredeemable notes of one class of them will almost certainly be so extended, in practical operation, as to include those of all classes, whether authorized or unauthorized. If this view be correct, the currency of the District, should this act become a law, will certainly and greatly deteriorate, to the serious injury of honest trade and honest labor.

2. This bill seems to contemplate no end which cannot be otherwise more certainly and beneficially attained. During the existing war it is peculiarly the duty of the National Government to secure to the people a sound circulating medium. This duty has been, under ex-



isting circumstances, satisfactorily performed, in part at least, by authorizing the issue of United States notes, receivable for all government dues except customs, and made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except interest on public debt. The object of the bill submitted to me—namely, that of providing a small note currency during the present suspension—can be fully accomplished by authorizing the issue as part of any new emission of United States notes made necessary by the circumstances of the country, of notes of a similar character, but of less denomination than five dollars. Such an issue would answer all the beneficial purposes of the bill, would save a considerable amount to the treasury in interest, would greatly facilitate payments to soldiers and other creditors of small sums, and would furnish to the people a currency as safe as their own government.

Entertaining these objections to the bill, I feel myself constrained to withhold from it my approval, and return it for the further consideration and action of Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REMARKS AT FREDERICK, MARYLAND, October  
4, 1862

In my present position it is hardly proper for

me to make speeches. Every word is so closely noted that it will not do to make foolish ones, and I cannot be expected to be prepared to make sensible ones. If I were as I have been for most of my life, I might, perhaps, talk nonsense to you for half an hour, and it wouldn't hurt anybody. As it is, I can only return thanks for the compliment paid our cause. Please accept my sincere thanks for the compliment to our country.

I see myself surrounded by soldiers and by citizens of this good city of Frederick, all anxious to hear something from me. Nevertheless, I can only say—as I did elsewhere five minutes ago—that it is not proper for me to make a speech in my present position. I return thanks to our gallant soldiers for the good service they have rendered, the energies they have shown, the hardships they have endured, and the blood they have so nobly shed for this dear Union of ours, and I also return thanks, not only to the soldiers, but to the good citizens of Frederick and to all the good men, women and children throughout the land for their devotion to our glorious cause, and I say this without any malice in my heart towards those who have done otherwise. May our children and our children's children for a thousand generations continue to enjoy the bene-

fits conferred upon us by a united country, and have cause yet to rejoice under those glorious institutions bequeathed us by Washington and his compeers! Now, my friends—soldiers and citizens—I can only say once more, Farewell.

GENERAL ORDER RESPECTING THE OBSERVANCE  
OF THE SABBATH DAY IN THE ARMY AND  
NAVY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 15, 1862.

The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the divine will demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity.

The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer nor the cause they defend be imperilled by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. "At this time of public distress" adopting the words of Washington in 1776, "men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality."

The first general order issued by the Father of his Country after the Declaration of Independence indicates the spirit in which our institutions were founded and should ever be defended:

"The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ORDER REGARDING CONTRABAND TRADE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 25, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

*Sir:* Certain matters have come to my notice, and considered by me, which induce me to believe that it will conduce to the public interest for you to add to the general instructions given to our naval commanders in relation to contraband trade propositions substantially as follows, to wit:

*First.* You will avoid the reality, and as far as possible the appearance, of using any neutral port to watch neutral vessels and then to dart out and seize them on their departure.

*Note.* Complaint is made that this has been practised at the port of St. Thomas, which practice, if it exists, is disapproved and must cease.

*Second.* You will not in any case detain the

crew of a captured neutral vessel or any other subject of a neutral power, on board such vessel, as prisoners of war or otherwise, except the small number necessary as witnesses in the prize court.

Note. The practice here forbidden is also charged to exist, which, if true, is disapproved and must cease.

My dear sir, it is not intended to be insinuated that you have been remiss in the performance of the arduous and responsible duties of your department which, I take pleasure in affirming, has in your hands been conducted with admirable success. Yet, while your subordinates are almost of necessity brought into angry collision with the subjects of foreign states, the representatives of those states and yourself do not come into immediate contact for the purpose of keeping the peace, in spite of such collisions. At that point there is an ultimate and heavy responsibility upon me.

What I propose is in strict accordance with international law, and is therefore unobjectionable; whilst, if it does no other good, it will contribute to sustain a considerable portion of the present British ministry in their places, who, if displaced, are sure to be replaced by others more unfavorable to us.

Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO JOHN WILLIAMS AND N. G.  
TAYLOR

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 17, 1863.

You do not estimate the holding of East Tennessee more highly than I do. There is no absolute purpose of withdrawing our forces from it, and only a contingent one to withdraw them temporarily for the purpose of not losing the position permanently. I am in great hope of not finding it necessary to withdraw them at all, particularly if you raise new troops rapidly for us there.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1864.

*Sir:* The Secretary of War and myself have concluded to discharge of the prisoners at Point Lookout the following classes: First, those who will take the oath prescribed in the proclamation of December 8, and issued by the consent of General Marston, will enlist in our service. Second, those who will take the oath and be discharged and whose homes lie safely within our military lines. I send by Mr. Hay this letter and a blank-book and some other blanks, the way of using which I propose for him to explain verbally better than I can in writing.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO GENERAL JAMES  
WADSWORTH, GIVEN BY F. B. CARPENTER

[Late January or early February, 1864]

You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a loyal and cheerful submission on the part of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied with universal suffrage.

Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I cannot see, if universal amnesty is granted, how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage or at least suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service.

How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention; hence I think I am clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battle-field, where, in assisting to save the life of the Republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which

is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended.

(In an article in *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1893, by the Marquis de Chambrun, the above letter contains this paragraph):

The restoration of the Rebel States to the Union must rest upon the principle of civil and political equality of both races; and it must be sealed by general amnesty.

#### MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE NEW YORK NAVAL BRIGADE

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1864.

*Whom it may Concern:* I am again pressed with the claim of Mr. Marshall O. Roberts, for transportation of what was called the Naval Brigade from New York to Fortress Monroe. This force was a special organization got up by one Bartlett, in pretended pursuance of written authority from me, but in fact, pursuing the authority in scarcely anything whatever. The credit given him by Mr. Roberts, was given in the teeth of the express declaration that the Government would not be responsible for the class of expenses to which it belonged. After all some part of the transportation became useful to the Government, and equitably should be paid for; but I have neither time nor means to ascer-



tain this equitable amount, or any appropriation to pay it with if ascertained. If the Quartermaster at New York can ascertain what would compensate for so much of the transportation as did result usefully to the Government it might be a step toward reaching justice. I write this from memory, but I believe it substantially correct.

A. LINCOLN.

ADDRESS TO THE ENVOY FROM THE HAWAIIAN  
ISLANDS, June 11, 1864

*Sir:* In every light in which the state of the Hawaiian Islands can be contemplated, it is an object of profound interest for the United States. Virtually it was once a colony. It is a haven of shelter and refreshment for our merchants, fishermen, seamen, and other citizens, when on their lawful occasions they are navigating the eastern seas and oceans. Its people are free, and its laws, language, and religion are largely the fruit of our own teaching and example. The distinguished part which you, Mr. Minister, have acted in the history of that interesting country, is well known here. It gives me pleasure to assure you of my sincere desire to do what I can to render now your sojourn in the United States agreeable to yourself, satisfactory to your sovereign, and beneficial to the Hawaiian people.

ORDER CONCERNING THE STEAMER "FUNAYMA  
SOLACE"

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 3, 1864.

A war steamer called the *Funayma Solace*, having been built in this country, for the Japanese government and at the instance of that government, it is deemed to comport with the public interest, in view of the unsettled condition of the relations of the United States with that Empire, that the steamer should not be allowed to proceed to Japan. If, however, the Secretary of the Navy should ascertain that the steamer is adapted to our service, he is authorized to purchase her, but the purchase money will be held in trust toward satisfying any valid claims which may be presented by the Japanese on account of the construction of the steamer and the failure to deliver the same, as above set forth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CARD TO SECRETARY OF WAR

Secretary of War.

*Sir:* Without an if or an and, let Colonel Elliott W. Rice be made a Brigadier-General in the United States Army. A. LINCOLN.

[Without Date.]





**House in which Lincoln Died**

*No. 516 Tenth St., N. W., opposite Ford's Theatre,  
Washington, D. C.*



# **Lincoln Bibliography**

Compiled *by*  
**Daniel Fish**  
*of the Minnesota Bar*

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**DANIEL FISH**

## Preface

THE following bibliography is a revision and enlargement of the catalogue issued under my supervision in 1900, entitled "Lincoln Literature." As expected, and of course desired, the circulation of that tentative list drew from their hiding-places many omitted items, more than a hundred such being now added. These, with the large number since published, swell the total to upward of a thousand, not counting reprints or successive editions.

The intended scope of the work should be accurately noted, for it is limited to a definite purpose:

Printed books and pamphlets only are embraced, construing the latter term broadly. Single-page prints of all sorts and unimportant leaflets, myriads of which were issued and have disappeared, are omitted. Such of these as are still extant shed no appreciable light on the life which evoked them and would only encumber the list without compensating advantage.

Only such books and brochures are included as relate distinctively to the principal subject. Prints devoted in part to Lincoln but treating



also of other topics are not within the plan, though a few, wherein the former matter largely predominates, are retained. To specify all which deal to any extent with the great central figure of the civil conflict would be to enroll substantially the entire literary product of his time.

Periodical matter not reprinted, unless the particular issue was devoted wholly to Lincoln, is excluded. This is a wide and fruitful field of research, but one to be separately treated under a different method.

The merely political writings of the period have been sifted with a view to retaining such books and pamphlets only as may fairly be said to owe their origin to the man. They are very numerous, but obviously most of them would have appeared in similar form had another than Lincoln been President. To include all, therefore, would be aside from the purposes of a Lincoln bibliography, while the exclusion of all would be equally improper. The line is not easily marked, yet to attempt it was imperative. All separately printed utterances of Lincoln are of course meant to be listed; likewise all communications in terms addressed to him. Ordinary partisan discussions, unless chiefly aimed at personal attack or defence, are omitted. In illustration, however, of the enormous adminis-

trative difficulties with which the President had to deal, and so of his statesmanship and character, some pamphlets are retained which set forth conflicting views of the larger questions of executive policy—political arrests, the habeas corpus, emancipation, and the like. The proceedings of political conventions in which Lincoln figured as a candidate are noted; and, as an interesting reflection of contemporary feeling, the song-books which contributed to his elections.

Publications devoted to the assassination, to the arrest and trial of the conspirators, and to discussions of their guilt and punishment are included. As to all else, the reasons for insertion will be apparent and it remains only to add that a few titles in the first edition have been dropped as not within the prescribed limitations.

Obviously enough, much of the matter thus listed is of but trifling value. Plainly, too, the student of Lincoln must resort to wider sources in the effort to learn what manner of man he was. For example, of the 157 volumes cited in Mr. Rothschild's recent work but 53 are here set down. Yet this is the roll of that thousand and more who have been moved by a great man's life and death to commit their thoughts of him to prints especially devoted to that end.

Use of the list will be facilitated by observing the method of preparation and arrangement;

Each entry embraces a full copy of the title-page (omitting only mottoes, etc., where indicated) followed by the collation—size, number of pages, and how illustrated. Figures in parentheses ( ) are pages not numbered in the book. Words in brackets [ ] are not found on the page transcribed. Care has been taken to preserve initial capitals and especially the punctuation of titles—or the absence of punctuation as is the recent fashion. Some of the earlier titles are of immoderate fullness while the modern style runs to the opposite extreme, but however much or little of his purpose the author saw fit to disclose by this means, all is faithfully set forth.

No title is entered more than once unless there are varying editions; mere reprints are disposed of in notes. All are listed under one alphabet. The form is that of the “author catalogue,” entailing the difficulties inseparable from anonymous publications. Compilations of Lincoln’s own writings, separately published, are listed under his name; editions of the *Debates*, under “Lincoln and Douglas.” In all other cases editors are treated as authors. If the author’s name appears in the title, the entry is under that name whether it be real or assumed. Identical surnames are distinguished by adding given name or initials in the form adopted by the author. When the name is not shown in the

title but appears elsewhere in the book, it is still used as the index-word, being enclosed in brackets; if learned from other sources, the information is given in a note. The proceedings of societies and of public bodies and meetings (no editor's name appearing) are listed under the name of the society, state or place. Strictly anonymous prints are distributed according to the rule devised by librarians in the interests of uniformity, which requires each to be placed under the "first word of the title not an article." The rule is not ideal, since it often leads to consequences futile if not absurd. In the present list, for example, the names of both Deity and the Adversary become index-words, while other titles fall under "Is," "That," and like terms signifying little. But the method has at least the merit of being easily applied, so it has been followed—with two slight variations, permissible I hope in a special list of this character, viz.: When the authorship, being at first concealed, is announced in a later edition, the editions are brought together under the name thus disclosed. And when the anonymous print deals with one of the assassins only, it is entered under the criminal's name.

All reasonable effort has been made to exhaust the field above defined. The leading collections of *Lincolnia* have been freely opened to my

inspection, their owners earnestly co-operating in the work of forming a more perfect list. The chief libraries of both Europe and America have been visited, extensive correspondence has been carried on, and scores of catalogues examined. Nevertheless, I am under no delusion as regards the possibility of omissions. So many publications of this kind are privately printed, or of local circulation only, that absolute completeness is next to impossible.

So abundant has been the assistance given, and so numerous the charming acquaintances growing out of it, that the mention of names will seem invidious. I must, however, again acknowledge especial indebtedness to that part of Boyd's "Memorial Lincoln Bibliography," compiled by Mr. Charles Henry Hart, and to the minute information and unfailing courtesy and helpfulness of Major William H. Lambert. Mr. George Thomas Ritchie, also, through his excellent "List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress" and by valued personal assistance, has placed me under deep obligation. And to my generous friend and co-laborer, Mr. Judd Stewart, of New York, I owe more than may be told.

*Daniel Fish*

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"May every man who feels and thinks  
The time of triumph is at hand,  
Repeat the song of bobolinks  
Now ringing through our happy land:  
Now, I'll drink on, drink on, drink on,  
From soft flower-cups filled with dew;  
Cousin Lincoln, Lincoln, Lincoln,  
Here are my best respects to you."

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3. Abraham Lincoln som Præsident. En Skildring af Abraham Lincolns Karakter, Virksomhed som Præsident og Død, samt en kritisk Fremstilling af Borgerkrigens vigtigste Begivenheder og af Regjeringens Finanspolitik under hans Administration. Tredje Del af "Abraham Lincoln og hans Samtid." pp 208. Frontispiece.

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Western rivers, Government Warehouses, Hospitals, etc.; Complicity of Jefferson Davis, Judah P. Benjamin, Jacob Thompson, George N. Sanders, Beverley Tucker, C. C. Clay, etc.; Jacob Thompson's banking account in Canada; The mining of Libby Prison, and preparations to blow it up; The "disorganization of the North" by a system of terrorism and infernal plots; Arguments of Counsel for the Accused; Reply of Hon. John A. Bingham, Special Judge Advocate; Findings and Sentences of the Accused, etc. Compiled and Arranged by Benn Pitman, Recorder to the Commission. Publishers: Moore, Wiltach & Baldwin, 25 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati. New York, 60 Walker Street. 1865. 8vo, pp 421, (2). Plate. . . . 752

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(2) April 19th. Discourse on the Day of the Funeral Rites. (3) June 1st. The Capacity and Historical Position of President Lincoln. (4) June 4th. The Dramatic Element in the Career of Abraham Lincoln.

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- 3rd. February 12, 1889, Gen. Horace Porter, pp 67.
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A handsome re-print of the three notable addresses before Congress (by George Bancroft, James G. Blaine, and John Hay, respectively) occasioned by our woeful trilogy of presidential murders. Appended to each is an official account of the proceedings.

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St. W. New York. W. A. Pond & Co. [Copyright, 1884, by Walt Whitman] 8vo, pp 62. . . 1043

WHITMAN. Walt Whitman's Hymn on the Death of Lincoln. Published by Edward Arnold, 37 Bedford Street, Strand. 135 copies only, & all on vellum. This copy is No. — 5 x 7½ inches, pp 20. . 1044

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WHITMAN. Memories of President Lincoln and other Lyrics of the War by Walt Whitman [Device] Portland Maine Thomas B. Mosher 1904 Sm. 4to, (17½cm.) pp xiv, 42. Portrait of author. . 1045

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